

THE
PROBLEM of INDIA
...
ITS SOLUTION

by

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RESEARCH SCHOLAR (Sociology)

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Dedicated to:

**HIS BRITISH MAJESTY'S
CABINET MISSION IN INDIA**

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PREFACE

To
His British Majesty's Cabinet Mission In India
May it please your Lordship and Honourships !

Having offered my cordial welcome in continuation of my express telegram despatched on arrival of your Lordship and Honourships on the 23rd instant, I take the liberty and feel it a pleasure and honour to present my independent research thesis concerning Problem of India and its Solution to your Lordship and Honourships for due consideration. I am afraid that due to multifarious engagements and responsibilities of your Lordship and Honourships, the deliberate attempt of an obscure, insignificant, poverty-stricken and too much weighed down by his own circumstances a scholar like myself, may not be considered impertinent. But I hope that out of generosity, due attention will be paid by your Lordship and Honourships to the thoughts (being beneficial to every cause.)

The circumstances I am placed in, would never have allowed me to accomplish this task in time for want of means and material on the one hand and I being quite alone and helpless in many respects and doing all this in my personal capacity without any assistance in any form on the other hand. Merely it is through the help of Providence alone that I have been able to finish this task in time. Therefore, I hope that any defects, deficiencies or discrepancies as regards

language, proof reading and wrong printing may be considered excusable except my thoughts, ideas, description and facts. -

Having served overseas with the colours for four years as a Railway Guard (Volunteer from North Western Railway), I was recently released from H.B.M. forces on compassionate ground due to long standing illness of my wife who expired in the month of January last, leaving behind five minor children to be looked after. It is, therefore, that I could not publish my works before, first due to my being away for four years on active service and then due to death of my wife. Now there being a control on paper I found it very hard to find a publisher for my work due to scarcity of paper. Hence I would request the Punjab Govt. to issue me a sufficient quota of paper for publication of my research literature, if my thoughts are considered beneficial for the general cause. Because its publication was postponed due to my having joined the forces in 1941 for which I cannot be blamed.

Most of my literature was completed while I was overseas serving with the colours. There I chanced to come in contact with a learned Englishman (Rev. Captain M. F. L. Clarke Chaplain to the Forces in Middle East from the side of Church of England). The Rev. Chaplain helped me to a great extent in correcting the proofs of my scripts as regards language and also helped me in clarifying my views according to British thought by encouraging me in every possible way, having a very high opinion of

my thoughts and work, as he expressed in his private correspondence with me, I shall remain ever grateful to the Rev. Chaplain for his kind help, assistance and encouragement. I would like it very much to send him a copy of my work (as it was desired by him) should I be fortunate to find his present address. In 1943 he was transferred to Italy from Middle East.

The discussion on the Beverage Plan was written while I was at Tabruk Road serving with 115 Indian Rly. Operating Coy. in Middle East. It was read by Major Foxton, the then Army Education Officer G. H. Q. Middle East. The discussion was well appreciated by the Officer in his letter dated 29th Sep. 1943 to Army Education Sergeant Tabruk Road while he returned the copy of my hand-written scripts after reading, giving me all sorts of encouragement by his remarks. I would like to send him a copy also, should I find his present whereabouts.

Wishing the best of luck and success to the Mission of your Lordship and Honourships.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship & Honourships obedient servant,
SAGAR CHAND MUDGIL,
Guard N. W. R., LAHORE
And Unknown Research Scholar (Sociology).

Lahore. 27. 3. 46.

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3. Dawn, Delhi.
 4. Times of India, Bombay.
 5. Statesman, Delhi.
 6. Bombay Chronicle, Bombay.
 7. Hindu, Madras,
 8. Sind Observer, Karachi.
 9. National Herald, Lucknow.
 10. Hindustan Times, Delhi.
 11. Bombay Sentinel, Bombay.
 12. Amrit Bazar Patarka, Calcutta.
-

A MESSAGE FOR SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF INDIA

TO

1. The Representatives of His Majesty's British Government in India.
2. The Rulers and Princes of all the Indian States.
3. The Political authorities and the Leaders.
4. The Leaders of all the Political, Religious and Communal organisations in India, such as :—

The Congress, The Muslim League, The Hindu Mahasabha, The Sikhs' organisations and other such bodies.

5. All the Statesmen, The Philosophers, The Scientists, The Socialists, The Religious Leaders and others interested in solution of the problem concerning freedom of India.

The situation of the country as regards troubles and miseries of major portion of its population (chiefly regarding mass unemployment, poverty and general economic conditions) seeming to be deplorable and unbearable, with a view to end the sufferings of mankind in India, urged by the innermost feelings

and sentiments of the heart, and also due to his traditional aim and responsibility, a *Brahman* from the Punjab (so far quite unknown to the public), has come to introduce himself to all addressed above with a *message for the solution of the problem* in his personal capacity as a Brahman. He has spent sixteen years of his life, at his own cost, making a thorough research of the affairs of the world as to how the things have reached the present state during the last so many centuries past. He having analysed and discussed all the necessary factors concerning these affairs, has prepared a scientific, rational and comprehensive theory—correct to mathematical accuracy—which will solve all the difficulties and troubles, not only in India, but all the world over. There will be harmony and satisfaction in every corner. Not a kind of satisfaction as the Brahman will say, but actual satisfaction meeting the demands of all the different groups in the country, as every one will require according to its own particular views, however divergent the views and opinions may be and whatever contradiction there may be in individual demands.

The solution of the economic, the social, the religious and the political problems of India will be given in such a harmonious way that the chances and causes of disturbance, unrest and dissatisfaction will be removed altogether from the country for a long time to come, if not for ever. In short anything or any desired results which any of the groups addressed above, wishes to achieve the very thing meeting the

hearts' desires, without any alternative can be arranged by the Brahman through his theory. There is not the least exaggeration in the statement. All the troubles in the country, rather all over the world, are due to want of ascertaining a precise, rational, practicable, flexible and comprehensive system to fulfil the purpose of social security as it is required in human society for sake of *democracy*, founded on *individual freedom* to be maintained by *law* and *morality*. Up to this time, so far as research into and the analysis of the affairs of the world is concerned, there seems to be no one in possession of such a theory upon which desired system may be based to produce harmony and satisfaction in all quarters.

The claim is often advanced that one can certainly find a workable and tangible philosophy of life and an explanation for the run of things on all conceivable occasions. It is legitimate to be so for the reason, that the problem of social security does not make any demand of one's faith and faith alone, as do other forms of thought and theory, but it ought to impress one's reason. Because it is essentially a study for all who are enquiring into the so called accepted facts of life. Notwithstanding the rules of judgment being many and varied, the conclusions should invariably be found to yield satisfactory results.

A noteworthy sign of this century seems to be a general awakening in the minds of the educated classes to institute a thorough and scientific enquiry into the solution of the vital problem concerning social security in human society, nationally and

internationally. It is, however, deplorable to note that in their over-enthusiasm to benefit the cause of humanity on practical measures, many of the modern as well as the ancient statesmen have been adopting an undesirable attitude towards rational factors and laws of nature, in rejecting them altogether, as not being applicable in human affairs; and replacing them entirely by imaginary ones, as being quite correct and precise. The arguments advanced by them in favour of such theories are generally unsound and can not stand the test of actual demonstration in practical life, to show that economic slavery can actually be removed to produce social security in true sense, establishing *individual freedom* with *law and morality* as its basis.

Most of the theories of to-day are simply tentative, they have not, as yet, been established. The statements of many of the leaders, reformers and the statesmen are very ludicrous and excite sympathy in the hearts of sobermen for such perverted views. The Hindu sages of hoary antiquity were past masters of the highest magnitude in almost all branches of knowledge. That they discovered many phenomena (to be applied in practical life to produce harmony) by mere observation alone, can not be vouchsafed. The plane of observation employed by them was certainly quite different from that of the modern statesmen, economists and politicians. Not being satisfied with the nature of any phenomena (for practical application) revealed by fancy, imagination and other superficial methods, they dived deep into

the unfathomable depths of Yoga by means of which they were able to see things face to face in their reality. Thus the gift of YOGA, helped them to a great extent to unveil the mysteries surrounding the natural phenomena. In this age generally we are wasting much of our precious time by entering into profitless discussions and controversies concerning the peaceful solution of the affairs in human society. Afterwards in case of failure we ascribe the cause to and lay the blame on other persons in the world for falling short of achieving the desired results. Whereas the cause lies generally in understanding correctly the exact method of achievement from the very beginning.

To-day, we have lost the power of YOGA, and we cannot see things face to face by physical aid. Hence we can neither depreciate the one nor appreciate the other. So we ought to accept all the theories and systems. Each theory and system has its own faults and perfections, and we must, as far as possible, connect all in a certain link to produce harmony, satisfaction and social security. Unity will be a meaningless term if there are no differences divisions and diversities in the world. All such differences can be preserved, maintained, and allowed to make progress with all the freedom, and still social security can be arranged based on individual freedom, law and morality, without affecting adversely not only any of the existing causes and interests, but any such demands likely to be produced in future. The only thing required is to find the Highest Common Factor

of all the different demands and also their Least Common Multiple to connect them in a link to achieve the desired results.

Under the circumstances, the Brahman requests the favour of all those addressed above to consider his message, rather an offer of his free services to end disturbance in the country to save the population from further starvation, and to take anything which they desire, from the Brahman. In order to accomplish this purpose, the Brahman invites a general conference of all to whom this message is being addressed, in order to settle and decide the rights and demands, (with their respective methods of achievement) of all the parties and groups in the country. The Brahman guarantees to produce results by his theory to the entire satisfaction of all as laid down below :—

1. To give a comprehensive analysis of economic organisation so as to end mass unemployment, poverty and insufficient wages for labour and also other such difficulties confronting the population. Not only a promise to solve this question, but an actual and practicable solution to be established within a year at the most. Otherwise why there may be a single man unemployed for one day even for want of work, when supply and demand are always equal in nature ?

2. In solving No. 1 above none of the existing factors like capitalists or others, is to be disturbed in any way. In other words no solution will be based on destruction and loss to any section of the community, which has acquired anything under some

system, method and discipline sanctioned in the society from time to time.

3. Freedom, equality and independence for all, individually and severally, are to be maintained to whatever extent anyone may desire. So that no one, even in his personal and individual capacity, may have a chance of complaint that his path of progress has been barred by any other i. e. State, Society, Government or any other individual.

4. To show that how the economic conditions of the farmers can be developed and raised in order to make them able to support themselves independently.

5. To protect and preserve the traditional aims of the country. I mean the religions. Not only one religion but all the religions whether in majority or in minority. All must have freedom of rights to safe guard and protect their various faiths and beliefs to whatever extent they may, without interfering in other religions or the economic organisation in any way.

6. As in the case of religions, so with all the communities—religious or non-religious—major or minor.

7. To ensure the safety and security of the trade interests of the British nation in this country. This is an essential rather paramount problem, without the solution of which, the whole problem will remain unsolved, however it may be tried on whatever cost and sacrifice.

8. To solve the problem of the Princes and rulers

of all the states in the country as required by this group.

9. To uplift the so-called depressed classes and to remove untouchability.

10. Development of agriculture and industry.

11. The social evils and their remedy.

12. Appeasement and mutual harmony between all the religions and other parties in the country.

13. Any other demand not included in the above list.

All these demands must be satisfied by the political power. It does not matter whether it is foreign or local. Any party taking the responsibility of political control in a country, under the system of democracy, will have to do it to the entire satisfaction. Otherwise it will be considered either incompetent or making a monopoly to exploit the wealth of the country, whether that party be a foreign one or whether it may be a local one.

If there are any laws in nature, if this universe is governed by certain laws, if supply and demand are always equal in nature, if democracy is a vital need and necessity for human society, then a definite assurance can be given that the proposed theory must solve all these problems in no time. Any scheme which will promise to do this in a certain course of time, cannot be relied upon and must fail in the end. A thing which cannot be done to-day, can never be done for all times to come. In arranging practically all the affairs, described above, the time and cost taken will be only as much as are required to take a census.

With that much period and cost everything can be arranged accordingly.

Refusal of the offer by the country or any part of it, will mean, that no one is struggling for interest of India and its entire population (specially for the poor and unemployed), but all are endeavouring to monopolise the economic resources of the country for exploitation to selfish ends of either one individual or a party, foreign or local. Rather in the name of public interest and freedom the public is being exploited in various ways by sentimental appeals and the like. Let any one describe the old conflict that where a line could be drawn between private and public interests.

The offer of the Brahman is without any kind of obligation, quite free, asking no cost from the country in the form of men and money, or wealth and energy or the like. Moreover the Brahman has never sought any help from the world for his success in the course of his exertions for necessary search and analysis. Hence any question regarding the theory made by an individual, will disappoint the inquirer. Because the actual thing will not be revealed before it is delivered to the country in a general conference. As such an attitude is liable to bring an element of partiality into the working out of the system (one of the main causes of all the troubles and difficulties in the world) the Brahman can not allow a grain of partiality in his work, even if it costs him his life. Hence it will be useless to approach the brahman with any kind of threat, temptation or the like, to compel him to

reveal his theory to an individual before its proper time.

For the further satisfaction of the country, the fundamentals and various other factors concerning the proposed theory have been described in a book "POST-WAR SOCIAL SECURITY" (under publication) in every detail. The copy of the book has already been submitted to the Government. When it has been discussed thoroughly by the country, having removed all men's doubts to whatever extent any one may desire, then the actual theory in its practical form, as well as in its general and universal aspects, will be delivered if desired, satisfying all classes of men in the country.

In order to impress the general minds about the tentative and ludicrous nature of present day theories, thoughts and systems, I am giving short descriptions and analysis of some of the current theories and plans which are being considered to be established. Each of the theories and plans has been prepared in fit of absent mindedness without laying the foundation on some rational fundamentals, with reference to democracy, founded on individual freedom to be maintained by law and morality. Theories discussed in this book are :

1. The Beverage Plan for Social Security.
2. The Theory of Modern Socialism.
3. Plan for Post-war Reconstruction (planning and development) of the Viceroy's Executive Council.



A SHORT DISCUSSION ON THE BEVERAGE PLAN

BY

Pt. S. C. MUDGIL,

Research Scholar (Sociology)

LAHORE.

Social Security And The Beverage Plan

CHAPTER I

GENERAL BASIS FOR SECURITY

As laid down by A B C, A Leader of discussion

(1)

The Difference Between Security and Laziness :

Literally the word security means freedom from danger or safety. But as it is applied to human society in general, it means an assurance for a man that he will not be left helpless on such occasions as he may be unable to work due to natural causes over which he has no control *i.e.* unemployment, sickness, old age etc.

Laziness means habitual inaction or in other words a man may not be willing to work and even yet he may require help to be provided for.

Whether the result of insuring people against sickness or want tends to make them work-shy or not, depends upon the circumstances and conditions of insurance. If such an insurance is sought for by a man himself voluntarily, there is no likelihood of his being work-shy. But if otherwise such kind of

insurance is enforced upon him by another individual or society, under whatsoever circumstances and for whatever benefit at large, it is most likely to make him work-shy, lazy, indolent or avoiding work wilfully. In consequence of this the productive and creative power of a country, nation or any race of human beings, is sure to be impaired in the long run.

(2)

The kinds of Social Security already existing in England are, in the forms of *Friendly Societies*, *Trade Unions*, *Employment Exchanges*, Different kinds of *Insurance Societies*, *Industrial Disability Benefits*, *Retirement Pensions* and *National Assistance* from the State including *Assistance Pensions*, *Children's allowances* and *Health and Rehabilitation Services*.

(3)

"Most poverty exists in families containing many young children. What should be done about this ? "

This question requires much analysis of economic system and has two aspects *i. e.* (1) Removal of the poverty prevailing at present, (2) making such an arrangement that such conditions may not arise again. This question will be discussed after discussion of the analysis of economic organisation.

(4)

"PEOPLE who work "on their own" workers with an income exceeding £420 a year, are left out of existing National Health and unemployment schemes. Is that right ?"

If the said schemes are meant for help in case of want, then every one who will fall in need of such a help, should be included in the recipients, and it will not be right to leave out any one who can prove his ease under the fundamental principles and by laws of the schemes. But if such schemes have been introduced as a regular and National right of every citizen, then they are sure to become an unnecessary burden on resources of the nation, causing to decrease production work, producing habitual inaction amongst the population and in no way serving any useful purpose. Moreover it will be very difficult rather impossible to carry on such schemes for a long time if they are meant to be of universal or of general nature.

(5)

"If over a long period (say six months) a man can't get a job at his own trade in his own town, what remedy is proposed for it?"

This question will be explained while discussing unemployment problem. Because many preliminary terms are to be explained before its satisfactory answers. Such as the difference in employment as doing a job for another, for sake of progress and development; and performing some independent actions at home, which may always yield income sufficient to live upon according to the minimum standard of local living. At the same time actions done by an individual should always be required in society to meet demand some where and also are to be consumed no sooner they are performed.

(6).

"Many of the population might go on for years paying their contribution without needing sick benefit or the employment benefit. Is that right?"

The rightness or otherwise of the thing depends upon the purpose for which a man has been induced to pay his share of contribution. If the contribution is by way of charity or as a state tax, then he is not entitled to claim anything unless he actually falls in need of. Any other form of contribution cannot be proved to be justified on any rational basis, except in individual and private capacity. Hence its being right or wrong becomes absolutely out of question.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL SECURITY

(1)

DEFINITION. Security arranged in Society for individuals so that every person may live in his life quite happily, respectfully and honourably, meeting all his demands and vital necessities of life, free from want and harshest anxieties of life in times of sickness, unemployment, old age and other such unforeseen circumstances. All this system should be

based on principles of freedom, law and morality, on the basis of equal opportunities for all, and at the same time causing to promote the feelings of fraternity between man and man, and also co-operation and understanding between a man and society at large, the State, or the Government under democratic rule.

(2)

"Does it undermine thrift and hard work?"

Social security as defined above is certainly a way of holding the step-ladder firm enough for a working man to climb. Otherwise its arrangement by way of sympathy, kindness or charity, can do some good when only performed in an individual and personal capacity, as a moral or religious obligation. But if such help and security (in which a man receives help in money or kind without having done any work or service in exchange), be arranged publically by society at large or a State or even by an organised institution, it will always become a device to make things too easy for the thriftless and the lazy. Moreover so many complications and even social crimes will ensue from such an arrangement, as it will become a difficult problem to re-adjust society and affairs of a nation in the long run.

(3)

THE BEVERAGE REPORT.

(a) "One of its main lines is to propose straightening out of existing Social Security Schemes."

This shows clearly that either the existing schemes

are deficient in their very fundamentals, or there have been produced some defects in their respective methods of operation, if based on sound principles and rational fundamentals. This seems to be the main cause for proposals of straightening out of existing schemes.

(b) "One of the changes proposed is that every body should come into the same National Scheme."

This proposal indicates that so far every body in England is not included in the existing schemes for Social Security. So in the proposed National Scheme all the inhabitants will be included.

(c) "Other new recommendations are for children's allowances, pensions conditional on retirement."

These recommendations make it manifest that the allowances for children and pensions on retirement are not adequate to meet the requirements as desired (under the existing schemes for social security).

(d) "He further proposes National Health Service for all citizens, covering all contingencies, and including full rehabilitation treatment."

By this proposal it is clear that in the existing National Health Service, all the citizens are not benefitted, but only some portion. Also that this service either does not or cannot cover all contingencies.

(4)

SAMPLE CASES.

On certain assumptions some sample cases ar

given in the report as to what one would pay and what one would get. These sample cases will be discussed after discussing the fundamental and guiding principles.

(5)

"IS SECURITY ENOUGH?"

"In the Beverage Report it is laid down that mere Security of income is not enough to make a strong democracy. Because there is not one Giant Evil, but five of them.....Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness."

No doubt mere security of income is not sufficient to form a strong democracy, but security of employment and equal opportunities of progress for all (individually and severally), without any kind of obstacles thrown in one's way by any other individual, Society or State, are certainly more than sufficient to make a strong democracy, increasing the wealth of the nation in every possible way. In other words the definition of Social Security given in the beginning of this chapter is enough to make a strong democracy.

The Giant Evils are not actually five but only two *viz* Want and Ignorance only. The other three Disease, Squalor and Idleness, are the direct or indirect outcome of the former two. More correctly, the mass unemployment and wages of labour having been less than minimum, cost of local standard of living, is the only cause of all "the harshest anxieties" felt, specially in working class homes and generally everywhere.

(6)
THE COST

As it is estimated in the plan, it is likely to involve for the National Exchequer an additional charge of at most £86 Millions in the first year of full operation. Subsequently the expenses may increase or decrease will depend upon the circumstances.

“Opinions have differed so far as to whether the country could afford to carry such a burden of fresh expenditure ?

Some declare that the additional taxation involved might cripple our effort to rebuild our industry. Others assert that at whatever the cost the people's health and security should be a first charge on the community.”

In the face of such diverse opinions the deciding factor is to be found by making an analysis of the plan as to its purpose, soundness of its argument and proving it to be effective or otherwise. In what manner will it lead to the goal of ensuring social security and public health in general ? At the same time it is to be seen that it may not lead the Nation away from its aim of democracy and, may not be the cause of decreasing national production, ultimately bearing an adverse effects upon the wealth of the Nation in general.

If by analysis the plan is found to be sound enough to ensure the peoples' health and social security in every possible way, then it will be definitely decided, that whatever the cost, it should certainly be a first

charge on the community. In this case the cost will have to be arranged in such a way as not to lay any heavy and unbearable burden on any group or section of the community.

Otherwise however less or insignificant the cost may be, it will be quite unnecessary and useless to bear the burden, even if the country could easily afford to carry such a burden of fresh expenditure.

(7)

THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION.

The proposed plan is not a new one as regards its fundamental principles for social security, but only a modification and a reformed state of the existing schemes on more comprehensive basis, due to their being ineffective and inadequate as desired. Only the proposed changes in the existing schemes have been discussed in the Parliament, making the decisions in the light of recommendations to remedy the drawbacks and deficiencies felt. Consequently a major portion of the proposals and recommendations has been accepted. Only one change has been rejected and a few have been kept open for further discussion.

As the fundamental principles and actual provisions for social security have never been discussed by the Government in connection with this plan. Hence decision of the Government will not bear any good or bad effect if the analysis of such fundamentals is made and discussed in full to find the actual basis for social security, in order to achieve the best possible results in as short a time as possible and with minimum cost.

BEWARE OF BEANSTALKS.

"A plan so vast and comprehensive as this can not be achieved over-night."

In light of this plan it seems somewhat doubtful to grasp the sense of the above idea. Because it is not a plan to be called quite new, but only a modification and a reformed state of those existing already, which are being carried on in the country for the last 45 years. Now, as proposed, it is only required to bring all these different schemes under one regular organisation most probably under the control of the State as one of its departments. So that the difficulties felt and other drawbacks in the existing schemes may be overcome. In reality the principles are being carried into practice for the last 45 years. If it is still a start, it means that another period of 45 years or more is required to achieve the desired results. Then who can say that the experiment and expenditure spent on this plan may not prove fruitless. Because the fundamental principles of the plan do not seem to be based on any rational or mathematical basis, or according to some scientific principles of nature working in the universe. So that the social security proposed may be tested and proved to be correct with mathematical accuracy.

Moreover social security as desired in human society does not require any course of time for its arrangement. Such things if they cannot be achieved to-day (or within 45 years) they can never be achieved

for all times to come. Time and energy will continue to be wasted in making experiments and other such things with no favourable results. When supply and demand are always equal in nature, I see no reason why a single man should remain unemployed or devoid of earning capacity even for a single day. By this I do not mean any system like the present Socialism or Communism. In my opinion this is the most defective system ever produced in the world to produce a worse kind of slavery—the public always depending on the State for every thing, losing all the freedom of individual life. I am confident that no man ever born on earth can prove the fundamental principles of modern Socialism to be based on some rational grounds to be introduced in human society.

All such things are only possible to be arranged under democracy alone, which is founded on the basis of freedom, law and morality. At the same time this work does not require so much time for waiting the results. Neither much expenditure nor cost is to be involved. The Reconstruction plans and projects i.e. Educational Reform, Town Planning, Demobilisation etc. can have no bearing or diverse effects on the social security plan. Rather these things will help to strengthen the plan making it less expensive and showing the results within a shorter period than expected otherwise. Giving precedence to the solution of social security problem, will enable the nation to carry out all the other plans simultaneously and with more and immediate success.

Democracy is the life aim of the British Nation and under its rule there is an easy solution of every problem concerning mankind, provided a scientific

search is made into nature to find out the factors to be the guiding principles. Otherwise working merely on experimental measures, without having as a base the sound and inevitable principles of nature working in the universe, will be like groping in the darkness, and will tend to convert democracy into modern Socialism in due course of time. So far as the democratic principles are concerned, it is an admitted fact that the theory of modern Socialism is the most irrational one in the world.

However, having discussed a full analysis of this plan, I shall venture to put forward a sound scheme for consideration of democracy, and for the sake of maintaining general and international peace in the world after the war. In this promised scheme I shall show how the results are to be achieved practically with arithmetical precision, within as short a time as it is required to take census and only with as much cost. It will be shown how complete individual freedom in society can be preserved under the system of democracy founded on freedom, law and morality, how complete social security can be arranged in such a way that any one may be free to make as much progress and development as he desires and can spare his exertions to show his responsibility towards national aim? How can one never be a creature of circumstances mostly beyond one's control? How can equal opportunities for all be arranged in the system in a real sense and also how can the feelings of fraternity be increased without much exertions of mankind? In doing all this no section of the community,

neither any of the present ideas, creeds, customs, aims or interests will be affected adversely.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL SECURITY.

As Discussed by Mrs. W. E. WILLIAMS.

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(1)

“What is Social Security ?”

In my opinion the definition of Social Security given in the previous chapter is so comprehensive that it may be but in some better words but never in a better sense.

“Sir William Beveridge has called the proposals in his report ‘A British Revolution.’ If by that he means that they are firmly founded on the developments of the past, no more aptitude could be found for them.”

Now the word Revolution means reversal of conditions with the fundamental and radical change, but the further statement and also the facts show that they are firmly founded on the development of the past. So they can be termed as comprehensive reforms better than giving them a title of British Revolution. Because radical conditions and funda-

mental principles remain the same, and only a modification of them has been proposed and suggested.

"The Beverage Report is the first comprehensive survey of the existing provision for Social Security and of the experience we have gained in dealing with this problem, so that it gives an opportunity to ask the question."

Where do we go from here? The answer to that question, given by Sir William, suggests many changes of route and to keep the metaphor, different forms of transport, but the general direction and the final destination remain as before. In fact none of the recommendations made involves any alternation in fundamental principles, though there are extremely important and controversial changes suggested in method and extent."

So far the matter of surveying of the existing provision for social security and of the experience gained in the past, are concerned, they are really comprehensive, sincere and quite adequate. No pains seem to have been spared in making out of them. But answer to the question "*Where do we go from here?*" does not seem to be very hopeful because the existing provision can never be for social Security from the very fundamentals. Actually the provision is to fulfil the need of sympathy, kindness and help by way of charity or fellow feeling at the time of one's helplessness. This condition of helplessness is not a credit for one to be placed in, unless it is very rare and exceptional and is due only to quite unforeseen and unexpected circumstances. These feelings and

acts of sympathy, kindness and help or charity and fellow feelings, can be the acts of virtue, goodness or creditable for one who gives or does such acts. At the same time they are quite the reverse for whose sake they are performed. Naturally and principally a man is compelled to receive such kind of help under uncontrollable circumstances and even then at the risk of his personal honour, self respect and grace. When such kind of help is received often and publically or such a practice is increased to a great extent in a community, it is sure to lead in the end to the destruction of individual freedom losing the sense of personal honour and respectability which are essential attributes of individual freedom. Further increase of activities in this connection can have an adverse effects on the very principles of democracy. Democracy is only possible to be practised so long as there remain individual freedom with personal honour and respectability and never otherwise.

First of all these so called Giant Evils *i.e.* Want, Sickness, Old age, Unemployment and Ignorance, are not quite unexpected, unforeseen or abnormalities of human life. They are quite normal, common and regular vicissitudes of life for which a man is responsible to provide himself in order to preserve his personal honour and respectability. Although sometimes these things are seen in the life of an individual coming quite unexpectedly and under unavoidable circumstances over which man can have no control. But such incidences arise rarely or they ought to arise very rarely in a sound *especially*

under a democratic rule. Otherwise in the name of Social Security, making arrangement to safeguard abnormalities and states of helplessness (which ought to be few and far between), will tell seriously upon the resources of the community in general and on the personal honour and respectability of individuals in particular. This state of affairs can never serve any good purpose except that a large number of individuals in the community will be living on the cost of their personal honour and respectability and this number will be increasing day by day thus gradually lowering the position of the community in the eyes of others.

One of the honourable solutions to meet these very common and normal vicissitudes of life is the introduction of such Insurance Societies only, where premiums are collected to form into a joint capital. That capital having been used in some form of production work yielding income will be sufficient to meet such demands on one hand and will become a source of increasing produce of the nation and also solving the problem of unemployment to some extent on the other hand. Otherwise to carry on this work by any other means (Friendly Societies, Trade Unions, Employment Exchanges and the like) where the contributions collected are utilized to meet this demand only without doing any production work, will worsen the conditions of unemployment. Moreover there are no safe rules and regulations possible to be framed that may avoid these schemes turning into swindles in the long run. Thus laying a heavy burden of unnecessary expenditure on the community

as a whole, throwing obstacles in the way of production of the country and causing to increase the number of those unemployed.....not earning their living by any sort of productive work which in another form may be the cause of producing similar work for others.

If such schemes are organised by the Government or the State under some Statutory law of the legislation, as it has been proposed in the plan, then any kind of contribution imposed under the regulations, will be nothing but a sort of taxation in some form or other. Although in this case there will comparatively be less or no chances of the schemes to be turned into swindles, but the other results will remain the same, not bringing any credit or real benefit to the community. This will involve a burden of fresh and heavy expenditure on the resources of the country and an additional taxation liable to cripple the nation's efforts to rebuild the industry especially after the war. This will also cause to increase the number of those unemployed in addition to destroying the sense of personal responsibility, honour and self-respect of a very large number of individuals in the community. I am afraid that a further development of the plan on the existing fundamental principles will tend to turn the democratic rule into a socialist state in the long run. In this sense of course it can aptly be titled as "BRITISH REVOLUTION." But that will be the saddest day for the whole world, who are looking for a lead to the British for prevailing peace in the world on democratic principles.

Charity and helping the poor is a virtue when it is practised in individual and personal capacity as a moral or religious obligation, but giving this matter the shape of a constitutional organisation in any form, will become a vice of the worst kind. In case of private organisations as are existing at present, the whole matter is liable to be turned into swindles instead of producing any good results. In case it is managed by the State as one of its departments, will tend to turn democracy into the modern socialism in a due course of time. As for Social Security it is quite a different thing from that explained and included in the existing fundamental principles.

Hence the answer to the question "Where do we go from here?" as it is given by Sir William, is "that it suggests many changes of routes or to keep the metaphor, different forms of transport". But the general direction and final destination remaining as before, the recommendations made not altering the fundamental principles, the important and controversial changes being suggested in method and extent only, is likely to lead the democratic state on the path of socialism. No other result is likely to be deduced from its analysis on any rational basis in connection with social security and human society.

(2)

The Basis of Existing Provision for Social Security and what they ought to be.

"In our present Social and Economic System there is an obligation on every citizen to provide for his

own necessities of life and for those of his wife and young children." The way he chooses to fulfil this obligation is left to himself to decide."

So far the present system is concerned, it is an ideal system to maintain the democratic principles and is the most appreciable. Because this is the only way to have respect for individual freedom, honour and self-respect. Only for this system the British nation is highly respected amongst all the other nations of the world. This is the system for protection of which the British have made many sacrifices in the past. On many occasions they have fought to the last always winning, in the end, merely to protect this system and help others in the world for its introduction everywhere. Social Security required in this system lies only in an assurance that the way one chooses and decides to fulfil this obligation should always be secure, comprehensive and flexible in such a manner that all may find equal opportunities to make whatever progress or to attain whatever position without any one's path being barred by any other, unless it is due to one's own faults and deficiencies; possibly no one may be left on mercy of others for employment or for help to fulfil one's obligation for provision of which one is solely responsible in the system. Otherwise to make arrangement publically to relieve the citizens of this obligation means nothing but to abolish the system.

The main and fundamental difference between the Communism (Socialism) and Democracy is, that where the former does not believe in individual freedom

thinking man (in individual capacity) to be weak and helpless creature, requiring to be provided for by others, the latter believes otherwise i.e. man to be individually free for any kind of actions provided his actions are not harmful to any other man and at the same time believing in co-operation having Freedom, Law and Morality as their guiding principles. The other differences might be, in details while operating the two systems, on practical measures. But the basic difference lies only in this fundamental principle.

"This does not mean of course, that every body can, in fact, earn a living in any way he pleases. Our choice is limited by circumstances, but it is still free in the sense that it is not imposed on us by external authority. Within the limits set by our circumstances we make our decision as we will. The corollary of this freedom of choice is the responsibility of the individual for the consequences of his action."

The troubles felt in this connection are chiefly due to faulty analysis of economic organisation. The basis of Social Security lies only in correct analysis of the present economic organisation. The analysis should be in such a way that any man may be able to earn his living in any way he pleases and according to his choice apart from seeking employment from others. Circumstances may have effect, if any, on a man being relatively rich or poor, and labourer or capitalist according to circumstances, but he should be never deficient in earning his living to maintain the cost of minimum standard of local life in any case,

In this way the state will have more and more funds available in its reserve to meet the abnormalities and unforeseen cases of helplessness in the community, whereas the chances of such cases will be coming less and less, as every one will find an opportunity to fulfil his own obligation himself and will agree to accept such help in utter adversity or under the uncontrollable circumstances only and not otherwise.

Having arrived at such an analysis, the social and the economic system will be quite complete under democracy. The world will remain ever grateful to the British Nation for such an example set, as is already indebted to the British in various other ways, concerning social, industrial and political developments. In my opinion it is not a very difficult task. In case my services may be required, I shall spare no pains in serving the British people for solution of this problem to the entire satisfaction of all. I am indebted to the British in several ways, and shall find it a matter of great honour and respect to offer my humble services in this connection. Moreover it will be a pleasure for me to have seen this solution coming from the British, as it is very urgently and badly wanted in the world for holding international peace for a considerable time in future.

"In the last century it was almost universally accepted that this made it imperative not to give help too easily to those who failed to provide for themselves, since this would inevitably lead to a loss of independence. It was a man's duty to earn a living for himself and his family and to save against such common

economic organisation, as to-day it is quite wrongly assumed to have been, rather it was quite the reverse. Actually the conception of the economic organisation of to-day seems to be based on quite irrational grounds and a faulty one. What the men in the past thought (about an individual to be principally in control of his own economic destiny) still holds good and can be proved to be so without harm being done to any of the existing causes, for national welfare in general or to any individual cause in particular. In the modern world of huge and highly specialised industries, one can never become a so-called creature of circumstances (mostly beyond one's individual control), specially as regards one's earning and minimum standard of local living, as it is wrongly supposed to be, but quite the contrary. However relative richness and poverty are inevitable circumstances over which one can have no control. This state of temporal and relative conditions can never be abolished from the world whatever method is tried. It will always remain present in the world in some form or other.

"The change from coal to other forms of fuel, such as oil and electricity, may throw a quarter of million miners out of work. National policies tending to make each country more self-sufficient, reduce world trade and cause a slump in ship-building which leaves thousands of ship-builders without jobs."

The examples given as specimen to prove an individual to be a so-called creature of circumstances beyond his control, are quite wrong conceptions of economic organisation and carry no weight. If the

quantity of coal consumed to-day, may be compared with that of the time when the change from coal to other forms of fuel did not take place. I am definitely sure that the figures of to-day's consumption will be found much higher than those of the olden days. Then it is not safe to say that by this change a number of miners have been thrown out of work. Rather to maintain the developed works concerning oil and electricity are sure to create more jobs for the people. Anything developed in the world, can never reduce the quantity of material consumed in previous methods rather is it always increased. Supply will always remain equal to demand in nature. Any kind of development, progress or change can never affect adversely this equality. To-day economic analysis being on wrong assumption, leads to such conceptions and ultimately to deficient methods based on faulty analysis.

As regards the other example that if all the countries in the world become self-sufficient, it will cause to reduce the world trade. In consequence of this a slump will be caused in ship-building leaving thousands of ship-builders without jobs. This is another impression of the wrong and faulty analysis of economic organisation in the world. This is the result of perhaps labouring under this impression generally that there is so much confusion, troubles and conflicts in the world rather the very cause of every day fights, battles and wars nationally and internationally. But so far human society is concerned, neither can any man be ever self-sufficient nor any country or nation. Had

question of employment. However these fluctuations can affect in financial ruins of some and vice versa. This is all due to such wrong and erroneous conceptions. Let it be taken for granted that in connection with social security, a man can never be a so-called creature of circumstances mostly beyond his individual control unless it is made so by a faulty analysis of economic organisation. The individual is still principally in control of his own economic destiny. This is a vast subject to be discussed and space of this discussion does not permit me to go into every detail. However I am quite prepared to remove doubts to whatever extent they may be required and to analyse any particular example in light of the fundamental principles.

"Why do not they get other jobs? We may ask. But it is not so easy to change over to a new trade requiring quite different skill or which necessitates moving to another district. Think how infinitely difficult it is for a man to change when he does not know where labour is wanted, cannot get the training even if he knows where and how he can get it." These are the actual troubles and difficulties for which there should be a demand for social security. The proposed plan is only to compensate for them, or it is to save a majority of population from starvation and has nothing to do with social security at all. I do not mean that this kind of work is not essential. It is paramount no doubt, and responsibility of this kind of help to the people in case of need, lies on a good Government especially on democracy. But this demand is to be met without any extra cost and

labour, or without spending separate energy in any form for these activities and also without asking for contributions. It is to be arranged in the system along with yearly financial budget. The available reserve in the finance to be kept aside for the purpose and work to be carried out along with other administrative work of the state. No extra staff or separate cost of administration is needed for the work. If at any time the yearly budget falls short of actual demand, then at that time endeavours can be made to make up the deficiency as circumstances permit.

Otherwise having given this work too much publicity and wide propaganda as suggested by the plan, will do more harm than good in very short period. The actual question of social security will always remain unsolved. First of all the improvements of the kind (suggested in the plan) in method and extent of this work, will cause to lay a heavy burden of fresh expenditure on the resources of the country. It will decrease production power to a great extent, because a large number of men working in the administration of this new plan, actually will be doing no work which may be called beneficial to the cause of the nation in any way. It will tend to increase number of those thriftless and lazy. It will produce a sort of resentment in the public in a very short time, because majority of the contributors never falling in need of such help, will consider the contributions to be a sort of the state taxation forced upon them unnecessarily. Ultimately a state of insoluble chaos will be produced in the

till the principles of freedom are abolished by any reason. But to maintain this system a sound analysis of economic system is very essential.

After accepting principally the question of individual freedom, there comes, law the next fundamental foundation of democracy. Although literally the words freedom and law are quite irrelevant and contradictory terms, and one does not desire existence of the other, but in a man also there are present two quite irrelevant and contradictory traits of characteristics i. e. (1) Those based on dictates of the conscience and (2) The errors and mistakes of human will and intellect. Hence in order to save individuals from these errors and mistakes of one another so that one may not have an adverse effect on free actions of another, and also that action based on dictates of conscience may develop more and more, the law is required to make harmonious these irrelevant traits in man. Hence in the face of varied qualities and different dispositions of men where freedom of action is necessary for development, and progress, law is also paramount and imperative to maintain that freedom. Even errors and mistakes in mankind are quite necessary and are required for development. Had there been no errors and mistakes in man his development and progress in any sense would have been impossible as it can be seen from the activities and actions done in animal regions. The only thing required is that errors of one, however they may affect good or otherwise to the committor, but can never do any harm to any one else in particular

or to society in general. Otherwise, if errors and mistakes of one are allowed to bear effect on other, it will spoil the very object of freedom on one hand and will give little or no chance of progress and development to the doer on the other hand. If that doer of errors and mistakes will ever be found making progress or getting benefits, that will be on the cost and sacrifices of others and freedom will be observed no more. This make it imperative to have law to maintain freedom. This is one of the important factor to be considered in analysing the economic system.

All this freedom and its urge is only in connection with actions of mankind. Actions are performed to maintain life fulfilling its demands in all the vicissitudes. They are developed to provide more comforts and happiness in life making minimum the troubles, miseries and anxieties. To understand the provision of law, it is essential at the outset to know how this human demand is arranged to be met in nature. It is generally said rather universally believed that supply is always equal to demand in nature. Demand is to maintain human life to attain happiness and bliss at the end.

Where does the supply come from ?

Supply is derived from natural resources plus actions of mankind. Natural resources always remain the same by the law (Indestructibility of matter), hence supply to be more or less, sufficient, or insufficient depends upon actions of mankind. Supply will always increase tending to reach its maximum, if

individual actions are quite free having no outside control. With the increase of supply the demand is bound to increase to the same extent to make the equality.

Now action has its own law. So no law from outside is required to control actions of mankind in connection with supply. Having observed its own law everything will ever remain in full control, producing always harmony and understanding in human society. The political power (consisting of legislative, administrative, executive and judicial powers under the principles of democracy) is required to maintain the application of the law concerning action, which if violated and infringed, is sure to produce chaos and confusion in society telling seriously upon the principles of freedom and democracy. Laws of nature are very potent and inevitable. Going against them can never lead to success and happiness. The law in question "is that action produces a re-action which is always equal in force and opposite in qualities to its action." Freedom and democracy can only be maintained by the application and administration of this law properly in different forms according to circumstances. In short this whole world is controlled universally by the application of this law without which harmony is utter impossible anywhere in the world, where two quite contradictory and irrelevant traits are found to be united everywhere. This is another factor in considering a due and desired analysis of economic system.

Any action performed produces a re-action (equal in force and opposite in qualities), which

gives rise to another action and again its re-action. By repetition of action and re-action cause and effect are produced in succession. One cause gives birth, to an effect, then effect itself becomes another cause to produce another effect. This is always going on in the world till infinity. Unless the economic system is based on this law of action and re-action (so that action of one man may always be producing opportunities for actions to other men by way of re-action), the question of employment and social security can never be solved to the entire satisfaction of all, neither can the principles of freedom and democracy be maintained in true sense. As a matter of fact, naturally, the actions are never used where and by whom they are performed. Every one in nature always works for some one else. The doer of certain action is always to find actions of some one else to meet his demand having exchanged his own action with other by way of re-action.

With the dawn of modern civilisation in the world, and with the introduction of money as a common medium of exchange for all kinds of action, services and goods It may seem somewhat hard to grasp this principle. Because now-a-days everything is convertible into common medium (money), which seems to be sufficient to meet all the demands. But actually the demand is met by mutual exchange of actions and re-actions with money as a medium of exchange to be a secondary measure for meeting the demand. By this rule every one is required to do such actions as are chiefly meant for other's use and only to very small portion of them for his own use. In this way by mutu

exchange of actions and re-actions with the common medium (money), the deficiencies and surpluses of all persons having been exchanged, will meet demands of all on one hand, and every one will become the cause of supplying work to others and also needing others' work too for his own demand on the other hand. This is another factor in the correct analysis of a sound economic system, which will never allow unemployment, under any circumstances and at the same time it will not harm any of the existing causes rather will strengthen them.

How is the system to be arranged ?

The answer is very simple and a natural one. Actions are of infinite varieties just like human beings, and each action being quite different from the other "It is impossible to make them all the same or the world would be a pretty dull one if we did." But in order to provide equal opportunities for all, which is in our power, we can divide the energy for action into its several component parts to make different spheres of action and re-action. In this way all the actions produced in human society up to this time, can be classified as to which form of energy the different forms of action belong to. I do not think that there will be a possibility of more than six or seven such classifications to be made to serve the purpose of the law (action and re-action) in order to abolish unemployment completely.

For example, say, seven classifications of all the different actions have been made with reference to different kinds of energy for accomplishment of actions,

Now any one is allowed to choose any number of actions in one only of these spheres of energy, so that one man's actions always be required by seven men including himself. Afterwards if no one be allowed to select actions belonging to more than one spheres of energy, all the troubles felt regarding unemployment, change of occupation, dread of skill in quite different sort of training etc can be abolished in no time and without any extra cost being laid upon the resources of the country. Every one will be doing some sort of production work to achieve the national aims, wealth of the nation as a whole as well as individual prosperity will always be increasing with no fear of approaching the verge of declining. Democracy and freedom will be observed in true sense. Moreover it is practically impossible that any one person may be able to show his activities in more than one sphere of energy for action except under very special circumstances. This restriction being part of the law (concerning action and re-action), can never be said against the principle of individual freedom in any way rather it is quite contrary.

The second rule in this connection is that the wealth from one sphere of energy can never be allowed to be taken to another sphere personally unless it is in exchange by the law of action and re-action. It means that no person is permitted to take any wealth with him, if he desires to change his sphere of action at any time in his life. Individual freedom is quite rational and justified so long it does not infringe the law covering action and re-action. Thus having arranged equal opportunities for all, the third rule is that (in order to

observe this law of action and re-action in individual capacity) every man is required to accept an obligation or bondage upon him in the form of sense of responsibility. This sense has two different aspects. One is that a man is held responsible to take the obligation of providing for himself and his family (wife and children) all the necessities of life and also to save to provide against common vicissitudes of life such as disease, old age, and unemployment. The other is that he is responsible to develop his radical course of action so as to raise himself on one hand and to provide work for all the other spheres of action on the other hand.

The fourth rule in this connection is, that the deserts and rights of a man are to be settled (in society, job, occupation, or employment) by the measure of sense of responsibility in him and not merely according to his qualifications for the work as it is done to-day. Because it has been seen by experience that persons with sense of responsibility have been proved much more efficient than those with mere higher qualifications with less or no such sense. Moreover it is quite evident that qualifications are required for one's own personal benefits, where as one's sense of responsibility is required for benefits of society in general as well as for one's own benefits. Test of mere qualifications for deserts and rights in society can produce no possibility to bring in the man the sense of responsibility afterwards. It is just possible that he may prove harmful in the long run to society and its aim in general having used his ability and qualifications to his own selfish ends without

caring his responsibility for others. But with sense of responsibility, one will have to acquire necessary qualifications and abilities being one's own need for self-progress, development or for attaining any desired position. However these are the actual principles for correct economic analysis and desired social security under the democratic rule with freedom, law and morality as its foundations. No other way is ever possible in this world to produce peace, happiness and harmony amongst mankind or to maintain the desired social security.

These are not imaginary things, but facts existing in nature on scientific and mathematical basis. Any solution sought in the light of these fundamentals, will be found correct to mathematical accuracy—whether be it solved in brains in region of thoughts, whether be put in operation on practical measures, it will show the desired results and can never fail. Neither is it required to waste too much time, nor energy nor wealth. What is required, is a firm belief in democracy based on foundations of freedom, law and morality. In case of need I shall be able to show its justification in every possible way, in order to remove doubts of whatever kind in the world every where.

The third foundation of democracy is morality, which is also required to avoid social scandals and to preserve individual freedom. This not being the subject of present discussion, has been left to be dealt with on some future occasion.

THE WORKER'S NARROW MARGIN

"For the individual worker the future is always insecure. He can never be certain what demands will be made of him. Those who have comfortable incomes can usually leave a margin for unforeseen eventualities. But when your income is small, every shilling saved to meet future emergencies, means cutting down even more urgent expenditure now."

These conditions, future insecurity for individual workers and other such drawbacks can never be removed unless a correct analysis of economic organisation is made as described. Trying to solve it with the help of existing provision for social security can never be able to set things right, rather it will produce many more difficulties and the actual conditions (root causes being there) will go bad to worse day by day. Democracy founded on individual freedom, law and morality, and allowing its working without prejudice, is the only remedy for these troubles.

"When no social help was forthcoming the workers who had good luck and met with little sickness or unemployment during their working years, managed to make do. But even they found themselves close to destitution when old age made it impossible to get jobs. The less lucky fought a grim losing battle and went through periods of bitter privation. One of the worst characteristics of this situation was that the effects of these periods of privation lasted much longer than the time of actual acute want. Nothing in the world that comes later in life can repair the damage done to a child who is underfed in his early

years. A man who is half starved during an illness takes longer to recover and never regains his full strength and working capacity."

If endeavours are made to expose human miseries, weaknesses and conditions of helplessness, and then it is tried to find some definite or universal remedy for them. I think it will be quite an impracticable thing to be achieved, neither is it possible to expose all such emergencies. Because human beings are, endowed with infinitely varying qualities and dispositions, in every respect, as regards virtues as well as vices, comforts, as well as troubles or happiness as well as miseries. Its only remedy is individual freedom with sense of responsibility based upon the law of action and re-action. Security of this kind as is being given at present, should always be discouraged apparently and publically, whereas the cases of actual need (produced automatically as a matter of course) may be arranged to be adjusted by the State according to circumstances. No definite plans either private or official, with publication and contribution, are ever required for this purpose. Because no definite and comprehensive plans are ever practicable to fulfil human want and miseries in general. Although without much publication and encouragement, the State, the religion or even the individuals should always be prepared to help such cases of need when actually happening, but never with pre-arranged plans or the like. In case it is desired I shall be able to show that these schemes have done more harm to the community than the good which is presumed to have been derived from them.

A COMMON EFFORT : FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

"When experience showed that individual saving was not able to cope with the problem, many workers tried the method of collective saving by building up insurance societies. The friendly societies, through whose agency men could insure themselves against sickness and old age, and the Trade unions with their similar provisions for this and also unemployment and immense amount to combat poverty. But they did not touch those whose need was greatest. Only those with fairly regular work could afford to pay the weekly premiums. Those who were likely to be soonest in need, were unable to find the contributions. Moreover, an insurance society, depends for its solvency on the accuracy of its calculations as to the incidence of the risk it is insuring against. But no information existed on which accurate calculations could be based. In fact one of the greatest benefits conferred by the friendly societies and Trade Unions, was to make it possible to collect such information. But while they were doing so, many of them became insolvent. A big rush of sickness claims exhausted their funds and left their members without even the little help for which they had saved the weekly fees. It was gradually borne in on those who knew the facts that the only way out of the difficulty was to make a type of provision which could be accessible to all who needed it and which was beyond the danger of insolvency, and this could be achieved only by a State scheme."

Ineffectiveness and shortcomings of the existing schemes, are quite evident from the facts given by Mrs. Williams and they require neither comment nor repetition. Moreover it is obvious that when individual savings are not able to cope with the problem, how can the problem be solved by method of so called collective savings by way of contributions by the individuals? Because in this case a heavy burden of management and administration is required for running such schemes and societies. Savings, earnings, and income being the same, if it cannot be sufficient in individual capacity, how will it serve the purpose in its so called collective form where so much extra and unnecessary expenditure is to be involved upon the same income, earning or savings? It can only be practicable when funds collected are made into a joint capital for earning an extra income to cope with the problem. Otherwise arranging such things by any kinds of contributions however based on sincerity and goodwill, will always show the same results as stated by Mrs. Williams in the above quoted paragraph. Nothing good can ever come out of such schemes.

It is practically impossible to make a type of provision by any such schemes which could be accessible to all who needed it, and which may be beyond the danger of insolvency. However it may be tested and practised to be achieved by a State Scheme (as proposed), even then it will fail and is sure to involve the same difficulties in a short time rather much more than before. I do not mean that this kind of help is not necessary. I only mean to say that this work should not be a planned one in the form of a scheme.

either by the State or privately. Apparently no individual should be in hope or in promise of such things publically, although such eventualities when arisen of their own accord as a matter of course, should be met without delay either by individual help or by the State provision kept as reserve in yearly financial budget.

No doubt provision of such kind is the first charge on the community under democratic rule, but never publically and by definite plans and schemes. Democracy in itself is a large scheme for individual welfare. If it cannot arrange such a security by its Administration, Executive, Legislative or Judicial power, it will certainly not be able to arrange this by any such schemes or plans. Moreover planning and scheming by the State for individual needs is the work of a Socialist State rather than a democracy, and this will be a sure blow on individual freedom if it did.

(6)

THE STATE INTERVENES.

"So over a number of years, beginning with the Workmen's Compensation Act 1897, one scheme after another has been established, the general trend, though not the deliberate intention, of which has been to maintain a minimum standard of living throughout all the vicissitudes that are common to life. They embody the virtual recognition that the individual is not responsible for many of the factors which govern his life, and that it is therefore neither justice nor good sense to make him suffer for matters over which he has no control."

As a rule (not as an exception), if an individual is not responsible for many of the factors governing his life, then freedom, and its urge would have been a superfluous and a futile thing in the world. In this case it really falls short of justice and good sense to make a man suffer for matters over which he has no control. But so far the democratic leaders have not accepted this idea to be sound and correct. However the men of socialistic or communistic dispositions are believing an individual to be so weak. Hence they are always trying to make such plans and schemes as to sympathise with men, although they themselves are the same men and are working mostly in their individual capacities.

"It is still left to a man to find a job. But when he is not able to earn, he has a right to claim an income from some other sources which vary according to the cause which prevent him particularly from working and earning e.g. old age or sickness or unemployment. There has particularly been a vast difference of opinion about the ways by which these various needs should be met, and each form of state provisions has developed along its own lines. But, nevertheless, certain principles of provisions have become gradually accepted if not by all, at least by many sections of the community."

In reality unless work or actions are available for all individually which may yield earning sufficient at least equal to minimum standard of local living with provision for common vicissitudes of life, and such cases of help are made a question of exception, abnormalities and rare incidences, the matters can never

be arranged to produce satisfactory results. This thing is only possible after analysis of economic system has been made on principles of democracy based on freedom, law and morality, taking into consideration the law concerning action and re-action as explained previously. Otherwise all are nothing more than individual men in the community. If such a common provision is required by all, then who is to arrange it and how, I am unable to understand?

(a) NO MEANS TEST FOR INSURED PERSONS.

I wonder why a man possessing means should require help and why it should be given him on any rational basis. This kind of help can never be given as a statutory right, but only a right of helplessness on the cost of one's honour and self-respect or by way of charity either from the state or from some other person. Otherwise it is not practicable to make such a provision comprehensive or universal.

(b) BIG SCHEMES ARE CHEAPEST.

Democracy in itself is already the biggest scheme or interests of individuals in a country, nation or communities. To turn it into some big scheme, means to withhold its activities and to convert it into a factory or manufacturing concern like a socialist state.

(7)

(a) A LEVEL OF SECURITY.

"The mass of the population have a certain degree of economic security. They know that a weekly

sum if a small one, will be definitely and surely forthcoming, if they are unable to earn. Practically all manual wage earners and non-manual workers getting less than £ 420 a year, are sure of a weekly allowance if they are sick and unemployed and have a right to a pension irrespective of their means when they reach a certain age. If a man dies, his widow and orphan children receive a weekly income as long as they are dependent. If he has the misfortune to have an accident at work or to succumb to an occupational disease, he can claim financial compensation from an employee."

All this explained above by Mrs. Walliams, can never be called any kind of economic security as it has been assumed to be. This is just like an advertisement and prospectus of a large concern for enlisting men for service of the concern offering them the conditions that they will be getting such and such benefit or privilege. In case of a business concern all that is given, is always in exchange of the services required and not free, and demands are to be met from income and gain of the concern. I fail to understand, that how and through what source, and by whom such conditions of definite income can be offered quite free to all the population without any obligation, responsibility and taking any kind of service in exchange. After all who are those persons who could afford to provide funds for this vast and comprehensive scheme? What kinds of qualifications more than a common man they might be possessing and what would be their sources to raise funds for such an enormous scheme and also why?

Having considered all this, it will be realised that to call this scheme a level of security, is just like calling a negro to be a white man. One may please himself by saying so, but a negro will remain a negro so far the question of the colour of his body is concerned.

Man is an easy going creature by nature, if he knows beforehand that help is forthcoming definitely, without any cost as regards obligation, responsibility, self-respect or the like, he will never develop his sense of responsibility or obligation to make himself fit for any work. Consequently the community will becoming gradually full of idlers. It will do no good, but as the Prime Minister has told "We can not afford to have idle people. Idlers at the top make idlers at the bottom No, one must tstand aside in his working prime to pursue a life of selfish pleasure." Exactly the affairs will be quite opposite to what our worthy Prime Minister expects them to be.

At present there seems to be only one person in whole world, who realises sincerely and without prejudice the value of democracy based on freedom, law and morality, and that is our worthy Prime Minister (Mr. Churchill). It is therefore that a large majority of individuals in the community, if not all, having full faith in him are ready to make every kind of sacrifice at his word. He seems to be the greatest leader of democracy in the world. Even the credit of honourable victory to the allies in the present war, and complete defeat of barbarism and brute forces

(enemies of democracy), is due to him only. All the British nation can well be proud of his personality, sincere services, love for democracy and honourable victory in the present war.

(b) ACCESS TO DOCTORS.

"Before the National Health Insurance Scheme began, the vast majority of work people could ill afford to consult a doctor, so that many minor ailments grew to incurable proportion, and much unnecessary suffering was endured. Now-a-days 20,000,000 people have the right to medical advice and treatment."

In case of working people it should be a responsibility and obligation of their respective employers to provide the required help in this connection according to circumstances. Those who can arrange to consult for medical advice from their own pocket, can do of their own accord. For other helpless and the poor, there are state hospitals and dispensaries already present where usually no fees are charged and treatment is quite free. I can not realise that anything more than this is necessary and paramount. The only way to end several sufferings of mankind is democracy founded on freedom, law and morality. If sufferings cannot be ended in this system, no other scheme, plan, or device ever produced in the world can be efficient to accomplish this work. Human sufferings instead of being reduced will continue to be increased in a very serious way if tried to arrange in any other way than democracy.

(c) A ROUGH ESTIMATE.

The figures showing reduction in percentage of

poverty during the past 45 years, seem to be based on wrong calculation. First of all figures given by Mrs. Williams, are only of two towns in England and this cannot be taken to represent the whole country.

Then it is not safe to presume that this reduction in percentage of poverty is merely due to the existing schemes for so called security. There can be many other factors in course of development which can aptly be the cause of this reduction. As for unemployment, it can definitely be proved that those fundamental principles of the existing schemes have been the sole cause of too much unemployment. In my opinion, had it not been for waste of energy on activities for such schemes in the country, the British Nation would have won the whole world for favour of democracy up to this time, and there would have been no brute powers like Hitler's daring to stand against democracies for such a long time.

Let me describe here, who can be called an employed in the terms of freedom and democracy:—

1. Who is doing such actions as corroborate strictly to one's natural inclination, traits of character according to his bent of mind naturally. Every man is endowed by nature with certain traits and characteristics, which if allowed to develop freely and properly, can make him attain any desired position with minimum labour and maximum earnings. If he is unable to find work accordingly, he can not be called employed in true sense, although he may be in earning capacity and living quite comfortably. Failing to get work according to his natural bent of mind, a man

will put only some part of his energy into the work, only as much as is absolutely necessary for his own selfish ends and never with full sense of responsibility as is required of him by law of action and re-action. Hence much of the time and energy of a man will remain useless.

If he is gainfully occupied then with that surplus energy and time at his disposal he will indulge in pleasurable pursuit of sexual and sensual enjoyment, likely to bear bad effects on general morality in the community or sometimes leading to social scandals and other such things. If otherwise then much of his energy and time will be spent in making devices and schemes to be rich by unfair and illegal means which will lead to serious crimes. This condition is generally responsible for nearly all the crimes in society. Such things can never be avoided by any methods of police, investigation or penal servitudes in presence of the root cause being there.

2 One, whose work does not yield so much income as to live upon according to local standard with provision to save for the common vicissitudes of life, can not be termed an employed

3. One, who is not doing any productive, creative or sustaining work which may develop the resources of the nation as a whole; can not be called an employed.

4. One, who can find no opportunities to develop his work independently so as to attain any desirable position, also can not be said to be employed in true sense.

If employment may be considered in the manner spoken of above, I think these schemes will seem to have done more harm than good if estimation be calculated on the correct basis. Because all the men and personnels carrying on these schemes are actually doing no work, but living on these schemes only. Anyhow this is so, the point will be discussed in detail later on.

(8)

ARE THERE STILL DEFICIENCIES.

"After 45 years of experiment and development we can pride ourselves on having a better and more comprehensive system of social security than that of any other country in the world. But this does not mean that it is perfect. Poverty has been very much reduced, but it has not been abolished. We can criticise our present system on two grounds."

So long there is a question of unemployment (as spoken of above), unsolved, it is not safe to be proud of temporary measure, based on the existing fundamentals of social security. There can be no comprehensive system possible which can show good results for a long time. Any system, reforms or modifications on these basis of social security, will always remain open to criticism in some form or other not to speak of the present system only.

(9)

LACK OF CO-ORDINATION.

The main cause for lack of co-ordination (as desired by Mrs. Williams) is that one is supposed to receive help without giving anything in exchange.

This condition being totally against the law of action and re-action in nature, there will always be lack of co-ordination in some form or other. Try to mend it from one side, it will consciously or unconsciously appear on the other side. The cause lies hidden in the root, unless it is corrected. and equilibrium of action and re-action is made stable, the results can never be corrected. If they can be corrected by some miracles, then say there is no law of nature working in this Universe.

(10)

(a) PROVISION FOR CHILDREN

"Recent surveys have shown that the most serious incidence of the poverty that still remains in our social system is found in families where there are number of young children. A man's wage depends upon the work he does, not on the size of his family. As a bachelor or newly married man it is usually quite adequate for his support. But as each new child arrives the strain on the income gets heavier and heavier, and all but the most highly paid or those with only one or two children fall temporarily into want. The serious factor about this is that far too many of the Nation's children are living in poverty during their childhood i.e. during just those years when the lack of good food and living conditions cause irreparable harm—harm that no amount of good conditions later on in life can ever undo."

This is the real and greatest difficulty and insecurity felt in the community at present. According to the law of freedom this obligation also lies on a

person to fulfil it individually. I do not think that any kind of state provision either in money or kind can be of real help or can improve the condition of those having a large number of young children and living in poverty. If individual work, its wages and systematic progress, is unable to solve this problem, it will never be solved by any kind of help from outside. The feelings of sympathy for these conditions and endeavours made for their remedy, are really appreciable. It shows clearly that the nation is fully conscious of their social insecurity and all are trying their best to find a proper solution. But the ways and methods suggested are quite wrong from their very fundamentals and will surely lead the nation on the path and destination quite opposite to the desired one.

In reality this is the most difficult problem to be solved even if the question of employment has been solved thoroughly. In any case a man's wages will depend upon the work he does and not on the size of his family. It should be borne in mind that to decide the question of wages on the size of the family, is an irrational one, impossible and impracticable. Wages will always depend upon the work a person does and never otherwise. Neither is it possible to make any other provision to end this trouble as it has wrongly been assumed in the suggested as well as existing schemes and plans. It can only be arranged by the State in case they are very rare, few and far between but not definitely, regularly, or with promises. After all the State finance is to come from the individuals, and as a matter of course it can only be

derived from those whose earnings are more than a maximum limit laid down by the Income Tax Assessment Act. Any other source of income (contribution and the like) will be unfair, and against the principles of democracy.

In spite of all these difficulties the conditions prevailing require a remedy very soon and urgently. In absence of this remedy it is only a discredit to the community as a whole that (majority of the children having been left uncared for in their childhood), will result in producing a weak community in the long run. Its solution is possible when the third foundation of democracy (morality) has been discussed in every detail. Then having given the full analysis of the economic, the social, the religious and the political organisations of mankind, having connected in common link all the four vital necessities of human life and having settled the obligations and responsibilities of man to cope with the laws of action and re-action to maintain freedom and democracy, it will be quite an easy task to show an exact solution of this problem. As the time, space and circumstances do not permit me to go into so many details, hence the matter is left to be discussed on some future occasion with the definite promise that the promised solution will be quite rational one removing all the troubles and drawbacks prevailing at present as well as the chances of these conditions arising in future to be reduced to minimum, and at the same time without harm being done either to democracy or any of the existing causes in the country.

(G) NON-MANUAL WORKERS

Under this heading it has been made clear by Mr. Williams that the non-manual workers having low rates of income are not included in the existing schemes, where there is every possibility that they may also fall in need of such help. When the provision is treated as an exception to general rule only then is it possible to make it so comprehensive as to meet all such unforeseen and unexpected circumstances (occurring in the community as a matter of course) under unforeseen and unavoidable circumstances without reference to any means test or other deserts. Otherwise there cannot be any such comprehensive scheme to meet all such cases by making beforehand promises, encouragement or publicity as suggested in the plan. The most deserving cases and those in urgent and immediate need (genuine cases) will always be neglected or partially neglected by giving such plans a vast propaganda and publicity or a separate administration under some statutory law of the legislation.

(c) REHABILITATION

"Our present schemes lay much more stress on providing an income for those who are unable to earn, for helping the individual to get back into the position where he can provide for himself. There is no comprehensive medical service to prevent illness, though there are many organisations which cover part of this field and there are many schemes for helping those who have fallen sick."

The medical service, as its name implies, is only meant to cure a disease when it actually appears. It is never meant for prevention of diseases. Had it been so the diseases would not have increased to the same extent as the medical service has been developed and increased, it would have been otherwise. It is quite wrong to believe that there can ever be some comprehensive medical service which may prevent illness. The illness and the diseases can only be prevented by sanitary and hygienic arrangements. The medicines or medical service is required after a disease has appeared and sanitation and hygiene have failed to prevent it. This work of sanitation and hygiene, generally have a common and collective significance rather than an individual obligation. Hence need of common welfare are necessarily to be attended by the state under the democratic rule. In this connection the sanitary and hygienic service is more important than the medical service. "Prevention is always better than cure."

(II)

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ?

This question has already been discussed in the beginning.

CHAPTER IV

THE BEVERAGE REPORT

(a) THE SURVEY

I have ventured to take up the work of discussing

the fundamental principles only of such schemes on rational grounds. Hence I do not think that a survey of the past or the present proposals can make any difference in the underlying principles.

(b) SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES

(1)

A PLAN THAT APPLIES TO ALL

The only plan that can apply to all is democracy. Any other plan falling short of this, if suggested or carried by a democratic state, will tend to turn democracy into so called modern socialism, as it has been explained and proved already.

(2)

WANT IS ONE OF FIVE GIANTS

It has been shown already in the foregoing pages that the so called Giant evils are not five, but only two, namely, Want and Ignorance. Other evils named in the plan are the direct or indirect outcome of these two. Moreover Want and Ignorance in human society are not evils actually, but these are rather quite necessary for human development. Had there been no want and ignorance, human society would never have been developed so much as it is seen to-day. Want and ignorance are the step ladders to success, one may be conscious of this. Hence this question of want and ignorance should be left as an obligation of individuals to remove by their personal and individual exertions. The only provision required for them is a correct analysis of human affairs in society, so that every one may find an opportunity to

do so of his own accord. Any other provision to remove want and ignorance on behalf of others (except under very rare and unavoidable circumstances), will hinder the progress of individuals then and there. Its only remedy on rational basis is democracy founded on freedom, law and morality. Any other method or plan falling short of this will hinder the progress and prosperity of the nation in the long run.

(3)

THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

"The third principle is that social security must be achieved by co-operation between the state and the individual. The state should offer security for service and contribution. The state in organising security should not stifle incentive, opportunity, responsibility, in establishing a national minimum, it should have room and encouragement for voluntary action by each individual to provide more than that minimum for himself and his family."

A democratic state is always founded on election by individual votes, hence there should be principally and practically always co-operation between the state and the individual. To propose such a thing as new principle for any scheme is certainly an understatement of the very description of democracy. Then to seek security from the state for service and contribution, clearly means that the state is a somewhat different body from the individuals. Whereas in the system of democracy, it is the representative body of the individuals, and always responsible to arrange any kind

of security by means of its legislation, administration, executive and judicial systems in the country. To offer and to seek security of any kind of contributory system involves so many complications that there will be no more democracy in a due course of time. All this procedure seems to have possessed not rational value within the meaning of democracy.

Then comes the second demand along with the first that in organising security the state should not stifle incentive, opportunity, responsibility etc, of voluntary individual actions to relieve them of their personal obligations. These two irrelevant things are quite impossible to be achieved at one and the same time. Either one will remain or the other, but never these two contradictory things can be had together, as it has been explained already. The help is always required no doubt, and let the state distribute as much surplus reserve among the population as can be possible, irrespective of any kinds of means test, but never with promises, encouragement or definite plans and with contributory schemes.

(4)

BENEFITS OF CONTRIBUTION

The contributory benefits other than the insurance benefits (where premiums collected are formed into a joint capital), are generally based on the principles of redistribution of income or distribution of work, which have no rational basis. Within the limit of democracy these things mean nothing better than economic slavery of mankind in some form or other. Contributory methods of provision for social security

are only possible when the principles of freedom have been abandoned and the doctrines of socialism or slavery have been accepted. But such state of affairs has not reached in England so far, and God forbid, it will never reach.

(c) THE ROAD TO FREEDOM FROM WANT

(1)

WANT IS BORN OF TWO CAUSES

Two main cause have been laid which are chiefly responsible for want in the community.

1. "Interruption or loss of earning power :
Three fourth to five sixth of the whole.
2. Failure to relate income during earning to the
size of the family :
One fourth to one sixth of the whole."

The correct remedy for removal of these main causes has already been discussed in the foregoing pages *i.e.* (1) By making a connecting link of economic, social, religious (moral) and political demands of mankind and having settled definitely the question of responsibility and obligation of individuals thus making the existing question of want a matter of exception rather than a rule.

(2)

KILLING WANT BY SOCIAL INSURANCE

See the discussion in last chapter under 7 (a) Level of Security.

(3)

KILLING WANT BY CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCE

See last chapter 10 (a) Provision for Children.

(4)

THREE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

"The plan for social security set out in the report takes abolition of want after this war as its aim. It includes as its main methods compulsory social insurance, with national assistance and voluntary insurance as subsidiary methods. It assumes allowances for dependent children, as part of its background. The plan assumes also establishment of comprehensive health and rehabilitation services and maintenance of employment, that is to say avoidance of mass unemployment as necessary conditions of success in social insurances."

A compulsory and contributory insurance is only possible when there is no question of unemployment (see definition of employment in the foregoing pages). But in this case there will remain little or no need of compulsory and contributory insurance or other benefits suggested in the plan. Hence to achieve the desired aim after this war, the only thing required is the avoidance of mass unemployment and security of equal opportunities for all to make progress as they desire. Then all the other results suggested to be achieved in the plan, will ensue automatically as a matter of course only with individual exertions and obligations. One needs not worry one's self about

individual human affairs considering a man to be so weak and poor and not able to maintain himself freely, fulfilling all his obligations regarding himself, his family and for common vicissitudes of life. To fix any minimum or maximum standard for human life, or to expose individual difficulties and anxieties occurring in every day normal life or trying to find a universal and definite remedy for them, are the things quite impracticable and beyond human power. Moreover it is to undermine the very existence of a human being rather than doing any good to him.

(5)

BIRTH RATE AND DEATH-RATE

In the proposed plan, there are only two suggestions given in this connection.

(1) That it is necessary to seek ways of postponing the age of retirement from work rather than of hastening it.

(2) That it is imperative to give first place in social expenditure to the care of childhood and to the safeguarding of maternity.

These suggestions seem to be for controlling the situation just after the war and not to be adopted permanently. As emergency requires no definite rules to be followed, hence these things are left out of the present discussion.

(6)

OLD AGES

The question of old age is very common same time too much intricate and complex.

requires to be dealt with from many points of view. For all such things the abolition of mass or individual unemployment being a vital and necessary factor, it will be discussed after this important question has definitely been solved on practical measures according to the fundamental principles explained in the foregoing pages.

(d) SUMMARY OF THE PLAN

(1)

SIX FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

"The main feature of the plan for social security is a scheme of social insurance against interruption and destruction of earning power and for special expenditure arising at birth, marriage or death. The scheme embodies six fundamental principles, flat rate of subsistence benefits, flat rate of contribution, unification of Administrative responsibility, adequacy of benefit, comprehensiveness and classification. Based on them and in combination with national assistance and voluntary insurance as subsidiary methods, the aim of the plan for social security is to make want under any circumstances unnecessary."

The very aim of the plan for social security seems to be irrational, wrong and erroneous from the beginning. "To make want under any circumstances unnecessary means to hinder and completely block the paths of development and progress of individuals making them idle, lazy or inactive. It is only through wants and one's obligations to provide for them that one

becomes "active" and attains prosperity. If an administration of the state may make provision to make want unnecessary under any circumstances, then why one will ever take trouble to think of methods and remedy for its fulfilment in one's individual capacity, and where will remain democracy and freedom? Very common occasions of individual life like birth, marriage, death, sickness, old age, maternity, and childhood are to be provided for by the state quite free without taking any service in exchange, by limiting the standard of subsistence, or the like, then what for is freedom required? Why will a man ever try for any prosperity and progress?

The six fundamental principles which this scheme embodies, are never possible to be applied by any Government in human society, not to speak of a democratic state.

(2)

THE MAIN PROVISIONS.

(a) A plan that covers every citizen.

So far it has not been properly understood that while this plan to cover all the citizens has come into existence, what more is left to be covered by or included in democracy? Is this plan to replace democracy and be its substitute, or is it to be carried out by the same democracy under some separate and distinct administration? In case of a separate and distinct administration under the state, how far will the compulsory contribution imposed be justified within the meaning of freedom? Will this contributory

amount be quite adequate to carry on the scheme or will there be required some extra financial help? In case it is required where will this help come from and who will work to earn this help and why? I think the contributions collected cannot be sufficient even to meet the cost of administration. These and other similar questions require their satisfactory answers before this plan and its various comprehensive details can be discussed for its introduction in society of mankind.

(b) A uniform contribution.

This method of contribution will only result in cutting short the wages of workers to a certain extent. As for the benefits desired, they cannot be met with the amount of contribution, let it be based on any method of calculation. It is only by way of speculation on the assumption that all will contribute where a few will be requiring help. But this is quite a wrong assumption. Either the funds will remain much less than the actual demand or many of the deserving cases will not be attended to.

(c) Comprehensive Benefits.

It has already been explained that no plan can be so adequate as to provide comprehensive benefits for all without any personal obligation, responsibility or taking any service in exchange merely by a uniform rate of contribution. That plan is one and one only and that is democracy which can secure equal opportunities for all and benefits are subject to one's work, sense of responsibility and the amount of energy put

in one's actions. There is no other plan which can provide comprehensive benefits for all.

(d) Uniform Rates.

See (b) Uniform contribution.

(e) Compulsory Training.

Anything good or bad, beneficial or harmful, when it is enforced by the State as a compulsory one in connection with individual human affairs, will be against the principles of freedom. Freedom means actions done at one's own choice (provided they may not harm anyone else's), but in case of any action being compulsory from the side of the state, will leave no choice.

(f) Pensions.

Pensions, paid to the employees of the state or other industrial concerns on retirement from work; are quite genuine and rational. But a contributory pension system other than that arranged by bonafide insurance companies, is neither genuine nor rational and cannot show the desired results for a long time. It will mean minimum results with maximum cost and labour, whereas any good and beneficial system should be quite its reverse i.e., minimum labour with maximum results.

(g) Widow.

Unless a complete survey and analysis of social and moral organisation is made, it is very difficult to say anything definitely about provision for widows. Hence this question has been left to be discussed later on

(h) Exception to the General rule.

In spite of the scheme being comprehensive, there will still remain a number of cases which will not be possibly covered by social insurance, as it is stated. Such cases will be covered by national assistance subject to a uniform means test. When the scheme is proposed to be carried by the state and its administration, then what will be the position of this national assistance outside the limit of this scheme? How many schemes will the nation have to carry on simultaneously and how?

(i) A National Health Service.

“Medical treatment covering all requirements will be provided for all citizens by a National Health Service organized under the Health Department, and post-medical rehabilitation treatment will be provided for all persons capable of profiting by it.”

It means that nearly all the necessary wants of individual human life will be provided for all by the state under the administration of proposed scheme. It seems to be very good for the individuals, but what will they have to do as regards their personal obligation, responsibilities and freedom? They will always be waiting order from the state for their personal activities, there being left no other alternative for them. When the state is prepared to provide for all the obligation and responsibilities of individual life (an impossible and impracticable imagination), then naturally the individuals will have to look for the orders of the state for all their activities which can not be otherwise whether it is desired or not.

(j) A ministry of social Security

This point has already been discussed in the foregoing pages that to form a ministry or social security (under the existing fundamental principles) means to start a socialist scheme within democracy and this will never succeed. Two things can never go side by side, one will certainly replace the other, i.e. either democracy or socialism. However it may be tried and an experiment may be made. In case my ideas are not understood properly I shall give a comprehensive analysis of the full plan put before the world by Sir William Beveridge.

(3)

THE COST

"The plan involves for the National Exchequer an additional charge of at most £86 millions in the first year of full operation. It does not seem unreasonable to hope, that even with the other calls upon the exchequer, an additional expense of this order could be borne when actual fighting ceases." Para 448.

Under the conditions and circumstances at present I am placed in, it is not possible to discuss the question of cost. Datas of various description are required for its full analysis, none of which is available. However the cost of this plan is such a heavy one, that even the proposed extra cost of £86 millions a year, is more than the adequate to adjust poverty and its causes once for all.

CONCLUSION

"The plan for social security is first and foremost a method of redistributing income so as to put the

first and most urgent needs first, so as to make use of whatever resources are available." Para 457.

"If argument is sound, it is clear that abolition of want by redistribution of income is within our means. The problem of how the plan should be financed in terms of money is secondary, though it is a real problem." Para 448.

I am one of those unknown research scholars and have given up all personal interests of my life for the sake of finding such relevant and rational factors as can prevail peace, happiness and understanding nationally and internationally in the world for a long time in society of mankind. Upto the present time I have never revealed my activities to any body in the world lest in case of my failure I may not become the cause to produce more confusion in the world with my ideas (till they were incomplete), as it is being done in the world for the last so many centuries by the leaders. There are already so many incomplete, diverse and irrelevant theories and systems (brought by the leaders in different ages without first analysing and testing their own thoughts) present in the world, that they have always been the cause of disturbing the general peace in the long run. Ultimately by the clash of all these different theories and systems based upon them, this constant and everlasting conditions of war-fare have been produced in the world seeming to have no end.

In order to avoid the share of confusion on my part, I have spent my life in complete obscurity from public without being known to any one, (even to my

relations, friends, parents, wife and children) and doing all the research work at my own cost, and always content to live upon my manual labour without even trying to gain some position or place of prominence in the world. Whereas having utilized my mental and intellectual abilities to my own personal and selfish end, perhaps I would have been successful to provide more and adequate comforts for my family, myself, and other dependents. Instead of this I have always prepared to live in such kind of poverty and hardships as it will not be desirable to make mention of here. All this have I suffered merely for the sake of research without laying its cost in any way upon the world, so that no one may be sorry except myself in case of failure, till (by grace of Almighty) I succeeded in my aim in 1939. Since then I have been looking for a chance of my introduction to the world as a research scholar (sociology). But being quite unknown, obscure and too poor with no adequate means, position or authority, I could not be successful in finding an opportunity of desired introduction, otherwise, had I found such an opportunity, perhaps I would have been able to avoid this present international world war.

I will be the last person to thrust or force my thoughts by way of sentimental appeals to the public as it is being done in the world by the leaders for the last so many centuries past. I require no majority to support my ideas and thoughts, because they are self-supporting and can cover interests of all the majorities and minorities or even the individuals, nationally and

internationally so far the affairs of human beings are concerned in the world in any form. I am quite prepared to serve the world in personal and individual capacity to solve any problem correctly and harmoniously, without any kind of obligation or asking any cost for my work either in the form of wealth, energy, money, men or the like, provided my humble services are actually needed in the world. However in case of doubts I am ready to remove them to whatever extent they are required to be understood with any possible and desired testimony.

During my life I have thoroughly searched the history of the world to find out the desired factors for national and international peace. I have fully analysed the affairs of human society in connection with national and international interests on the basis of nearly all the religions, all the political, social and economic theories so far brought into the world, on the basis of human psychology, human morality, on principles of nature working in the universe on scientific basis, then on the basis of democracy, socialism, autocracy, or in short in every possible way available in the record of the history in the world. The factors I have derived from all this labour, I have found them quite correct and applicable practically wherever applied. At last I have reached the conclusion that democracy founded on the principle of individual freedom, law and morality, is the only system having more rational factors in it, whereas the method and principles of redistribution of income or distribution of work amongst human society, are the

only principles having no rational origin radically in connection with human affairs except in a system based on exploitation of human rights to make them slaves. All the other systems although they are likely to go wrong in the practical operation, but are founded on quite rational bases if carried on properly. This is the main result of my research the justification of which can be shown any where to have the desired results for satisfaction of all, as every one desires one's self.

Tabruk Road,
Dated 13/8/1943

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The Theory of Socialism

AND

ITS TOTAL INEFFECTIVENESS IN PRACTICAL LIFE.

*[This is one of the chapters from the book
Post-war Social Security (under publication),
written by the author]*

If like the religious leaders of the past, and various other prejudiced men (having a blind faith in certain dogmatic principles said to have been the cause of disturbance in the world), the present advocates of Socialism are not self-conscious or prejudiced in any way, if they believe that there are certain inevitable laws of nature and that this universe is controlled by scientific facts revealing the working principles of nature, and also if they believe that a man, however qualified he may be, is unable to solve the problems of mankind, unless he follows the course of nature in accordance with its working principles on scientific lines : then, having studied the fundamentals described in the foregoing pages of this book, they will come to know and realise that the theory introduced by them to solve the questions of freedom, equality, fraternity and political power in general, is deficient in many ways. It contradicts nature in nearly all its aspects. Hence it will not be able to bring about the desired results for a long time, nay, rather it will

cause the annihilation of the very thing sought for, having destroyed the roots and elements of support for them, as has been explained with reference to individual subject dealt with in this book.

However, I very sincerely and honestly admit, or rather accept, that, unlike those of other leaders and reformers in the world, the aims put before the world by the Socialist Leaders are quite clear and correct, Nay, rather these are the highest ideals possible to be achieved and very urgently required by the society of mankind in general. Moreover they have tried to solve the question as a whole advocating a comprehensive scheme with all sincerity. They have spared no pains and exertions, have made all the necessary sacrifices and have suffered all the troubles involved, before they have introduced their theory in the world. It is therefore understandable that they seem to have been successful in introducing it in a country like RUSSIA, but not amicably and by co-operation. but after a revolution and then by force of the privileges of those in power. They having worked on wrong data and insufficient hypotheses, not having considered the application of scientific theories in the field of action, they have reached the wrong solution and are very dangerous for human society. It is sure to destroy and annihilate mankind in the long run, producing an insoluble state of chaos in every sphere, if it is not corrected and remade according to the working principles of nature, in the light of scientific theories—so far revealed—which are indispensable and cannot be infringed. Socialism as it is at present, in its practicable form, is discussed and

analysed in the following pages in the light of scientific theories and the fundamental working principles of nature, in order to show its ineffectiveness to solve any problem of mankind (even if taken in the terms of the Socialists), not to speak of producing harmony and satisfaction in other quarters.

Natural phenomena and their working principles are so accurate and correct in the universe that any problem the solution of which is attempted in the light of scientific theories will always prove correct with mathematical accuracy. Whether it is solved in the brain in the region of thought, whether it is solved theoretically on paper, or whether it is introduced in practical life, so that one may perceive the desired results in any case. By the lapse of time all the results sought for will be obtained and increased as a matter of course. But it cannot fail to produce the desired results then and there without waiting for more time or any way to achieve them gradually. Any solution or theory falling short of this will not be based on scientific theories, but merely on some vague conceptions of thought on the part of certain individuals. Hence it is sure to be deficient in many ways and will show quite opposite results to those desired in the long run. For example, if the question of unemployment cannot be solved to-day, it can never be solved for all time to come. Moreover why should some men, even a single man wait for any length of time to get work, while supply and demand are always equal in nature ?

As I have stated above that the advocates of SOCIALISM have worked on a wrong hypothesis from

the very beginning; this is due to their realisation, understanding and description of CAPITALISM and unequal results arising out of it. For in reality birth of SOCIALISM is due to the existence of CAPITALISM in the world, and their aim is to destroy the latter so as to establish freedom and equality for all the men in general. But actually the troubles and difficulties are not the result of so called CAPITALISM (or capital considered as a personal and individual property), but due to quite different causes allowing the field of action to become narrower, and chiefly due to money's having been considered as real wealth and not as a medium of exchange for different actions as it was introduced to facilitate the work. All these things have been dealt with in great detail in the foregoing pages of this book. So the root cause of all the evils being there, labouring under the impression that the economic and social demands of man are met with money alone instead of the interchange of various actions in the world, money not being considered as a medium of exchange only for different actions, the SOCIALISTS base their theory on the contention that money and capital on the one hand are the only materials necessary to the general demands, and that all the population of mankind on the other hand should achieve all the objects of their requirement by this means. This is a state of permanent dependency of individuals on the STATE or society (or whatever it may be called) for their various needs, thus destroying all freedom in action in different spheres, causing man's demands to be met by interchange

of different actions, with money as the medium only. This is the worst and more dangerous form of the same CAPITALISM, which will prove more harmful to society in the long run, than so called CAPITALISM, the root cause being there in its constant form.

The description given of CAPITALISM is as follows :—

CAPITALISM is a special method of earning money or wealth in which a certain man having no other privileges and ability, only by virtue of his possessing the money, having accumulated all the possible means of industry in the form of machinery and other scientific appliances, is able to gain and increase his wealth by using labour of the majority without paying their due wages. Then it is further described that since the introduction of scientific appliances and machinery for advancement of industry, it has caused unemployment of many having destroyed the hand industry, in which a large number of men were being employed for a longer time to produce the necessary articles of requirement. Whereas by the development of industry on scientific lines a comparatively smaller number of men are able to produce the articles in abundance in a comparatively less time. Hence time and men having been spared to a great extent by use of machinery in the work and means of production having been in the hands of capitalists, it has resulted in the unemployment of the majority and insufficient wages for those who are employed. Thus they ensure and blame the above system as the cause of poverty, unemployment,

general unrest, disturbance and all the other evils in the world, producing the present state of chaos, confusion and a condition of constant warfare.

These are the data and hypotheses upon which the advocates of SOCIALISM have worked. But the hypotheses having been right only to the extent to which the consequences and results are felt, and quite wrong in ascribing the cause and placing the whole responsibility on their opponents' system having been wrong, unlawful and unauthorised, they have made a serious mistake in limiting their activities to these two spheres only. They have never tried to find out some other factors in nature which may be responsible for the present state of affairs and the difficulties felt. So they have been the cause of introducing quite wrong theory in the world liable to destroy the very thing sought for. The same results can be produced by different causes in the world. Sometimes the causes are quite apparent, but on other occasions the causes being hidden and neglected, it is impossible to arrive at a definite decision unless the whole thing is analysed from the very beginning. The facts should be tested with the scientific theories as testimony, and then to see where an infringement of any rational law or authority of nature has occurred and, then and then only, will we be able to understand the exact cause and its proper remedy. Otherwise it is useless to grope in the darkness according to mere fancy and the imagination of some intellectual brains misleading the public in general and proving more harmful to society than serving any good purpose.

Let us analyse the hypotheses. The first question is, whether the use of capital in the form of wealth and money by a person in his individual capacity, to start an industrial concern, with a view to producing material of every day use in abundance, and also in order to get profit or gain therefrom, is unlawful, unauthorised or prohibited in any way, and the cause of infringing any law of nature in the light of scientific theories or that of evolution. The answer to this question is very clear and it is in the negative. Under capitalism on the one hand a man in his personal capacity takes the risk of bringing his wealth or money (a result of his previous actions or those of his fore-fathers, converted into a common medium of exchange, money) into the field of action with a view to enlarging the sphere of labour and also creating the means of interchanging actions. And on the other hand he becomes the cause of producing necessary articles of demand. Then having converted different forms of labour into money, he realises the surplus as a gain or sometimes even as a loss. Wherein lies any infringement of any law in all this? This is the cause of increasing supply in nature. If he has only wealth and money, there seems to be no harm in this, money being a medium of exchange for actions, he becomes an exchange market facilitating the interchange of actions and the gain realised therefrom can be taken as his commission for all the work done where so many have been benefitted, so far as the above procedure is concerned it can never be responsible for any evil results and drawbacks in the world, rather quite the opposite.

The second question in analysing the hypotheses of capitalism is, whether the development of industry on scientific lines by the use of machinery, has adversely affected the question of employment, having spared a larger number of men by reducing the time needed to produce the materials in every day use in abundance, and also whether it has been the cause of general poverty and insufficient wages for labour, as it is claimed to be the case, especially because industry has been developed by the use of wealth with a view to profit by individuals? Before answering these questions I should like to impress upon the minds of readers that any development to whatever extent made in any sphere of labour or the supply of necessities, if it is not a result of violence but based on scientific theories and natural laws, can never be the cause of unemployment or such other things as it is said to be. Because supply and demand being always equal in nature, how any amount of development done in accordance with proper laws, can deprive any man of his due share of what is his right making him unemployed, poor or underpaid? If this would be correct and I venture to say it can never be), then scientific theories will become untrue and it will require more research to establish them again in their correct form.

If the development of industry by the use of machinery has ever been the cause of decreasing number of men in sphere of hand industry, it must have certainly increased the technical labour and employment necessary for upkeep and adjustment of the machinery used. Even this effect in the sphere of

hand industry would have been felt in the beginning only. As soon as the supply was increased, the demand was bound to increase to the same extent to maintain equality. And as a matter of fact its adverse affects could never have been felt even in the sphere of hand industry for want of work due to the reasons stated above, as has been supposed to be the case. These are inevitable laws of nature based on scientific theories and no one would dare deny it. As they can be proved to be mathematically correct wherever they are applied properly. I am quite definite and confident that by help of my theory I can prove mathematically even at this time of confusion, that all men can be supplied with work without in any way disturbing and destroying any of the existing causes, elements or factors in the world.

in the world, having destroyed the balance of actions and reactions, resulting in the contraction of the field of action, thereby withholding work for the majority. Now actions are not performed in the world by any one with a sense of responsibility but only the privileges and benefits of different actions are sold and bought for money, which instead of being the medium of exchange for actions and then the cause of meeting various demands as a secondary measure, has been considered the only means of meeting human requirements. It has resulted in this, that those who possess money are allowed to buy as many privileges of different actions as they possibly can. On the other hand independent actions having been destroyed altogether, if any one chances to acquire some privileges of certain actions by whatever means, he goes into the market to sell them to meet his demands. When any man goes in the bazaar to sell a thing due to some necessity, he is likely not to get its full price, but according to the demand in the market. All this has resulted in unemployment and insufficient wages for the labour.

In reality the terms capitalist and labourer are the creation of modern ideas. Otherwise every one is a labourer in the world, in some form or other, and in turn every one can become capitalist or labourer respectively. This question is too deep to be understood easily. Although I have tried my best to explain it as clearly and in as simple a way as possible in this book, yet in case of doubt I can explain it to whatever extent it may be required. This being the root cause of confusion, makes it essential to understand it clearly.

To sum up the whole thing, labour is not performed in the world at present independently with a view to mutual exchange to meet the necessary demands by way of co-operation. But it is only sold and bought for the sake of money without any sense of responsibility. At the same time money is not considered a medium of exchange, for actions (as it really is), but a real thing to be sought for. This is the only main cause of all difficulties and other troubles in the world. Nor has any system or any religion ever been responsible for them. All this has been brought about by the leaders and reformers of the world during the last many centuries past. Until and unless the thing is considered in its true sense as it has been described, no solution of any problem will be possible nor will the desired results be achieved.

SOCIALISTS are not in any way against the development of industry on scientific lines. They wish only to remove the unequal results produced in society from its development by the use of wealth by individuals for sake of gain and profit. It has been shown already that the results felt are not the consequence of so called capitalism, but a result of worshipping capital by the majority. Instead of performing actions independently, privileges due to labour are being bought and sold for capital. As for gain, can any concern be carried out in the world either by the state, society or any individual at a loss? For how long could it be carried on? Who will bear the loss and where will the capital come from? No industrial concern whether arranged by the state or by an individual, can be run at a loss. It will only be

running in case it shows profit. There is no difference in the system so far as gain and profit are concerned, and there is no need to mislead the general mind into thinking that it can ever be carried on without gain or profit.

Then it is further maintained that an industrial concern, instead of being used to produce gain and profit for one man, should have been used for the benefit of whole society of mankind in general. In order to accomplish this purpose SOCIALISTS (having supposed the use of machinery in the production of industrial material has reduced the work for a certain number of men) say that in order to provide work for them the time saved should be divided amongst the men whose services have been dispensed with to avoid unemployment, i.e., the men thus thrown out of work should be provided for by decreasing the time of working hours for others who are employed. This is the only solution of unemployment which the theory of socialism gives to the world. They say that so long as material is being produced for sake of gain and profit, this system of decreasing hours of work according to the proportion of men out of work cannot be introduced. Then they say that at present everywhere in the world the public in general is in a variety of troubles. Not only are owners of mills and other traders complaining of trade depression, but also farmers in the country as well as agricultural labourers are prey to the same troubles. As for the labourers working in the mills and in big industrial concerns in towns, their state is beyond

explanation and remedy. Even in Europe and America there are so many men unemployed that their number reaches to millions. The majority of them are unable to get even the bare necessities of life in consequence of which there have been cases of suicides every now and then. Having placed so many men in trouble, it is not wise and desirable that the chosen few should enjoy all the comforts.

These are the allegations worked out by advocates of SOCIALISM from their data and hypotheses and also their solution of the problem. What do they mean by industrial concern and the profit arising out of it being for use of mankind in general? I am so far unable to understand this in its true sense. If they mean the material produced by industry, it is always for the use and benefit of mankind and not for the owner of the concern in any way. If they mean the profit and gain derived thereof, that can never be under any circumstances. Because a product is the result of natural sources plus the actions or labour of mankind. Natural sources being common for the general society of mankind and actions or labour being individual property, when he has paid to the state a proper price for the former in the way of taxation (which can be used for the common benefit the surplus becomes his personal property—result of actions or labour realised and exchanged into the common medium, money. Wherein does the evil lie in all this method to bring up against CAPITALISM. As for unemployment and poverty I have explained repeatedly that it is not due to the cause alleged by socialists, but merely for the reason that actions or

labour are neither performed with a full sense of responsibility with a view to expanding the field of action nor are they interchanged to meet the demand. Only the privileges of actions acquired by the majority are sold and bought which can never have their full price as actions or labour. This is the main cause of all troubles and difficulties felt in the world. This and similar states of affairs have been brought about by the leaders and reformers during the last many centuries past. Instead of groping in dark the real cause should be sought for and removed.

Then it is further alleged that unemployment, poverty and insufficient wages are not the only evil results of capitalism but also that this system has resulted in destroying the peace of the world in general; because every capitalist nation and country wish their respective industries always to be developing. But this is only possible when there are markets in the world for the consumption of the material produced. Hence by the increase and development of industry in nearly all the countries of the world and the limitation of the field of consumption, there has resulted war between different nations from time to time and on various occasions, merely for sake of reserving markets on the part of all the nations and countries for their respective industrial produce. (By now the war has reached such a terrible stage that all the powers, nations and countries of the world have been involved in it to solve this question.) The cause of the disturbance, too, is being laid to the charge of the same capitalism arising out of individual exertions for sake of gain and profit. Every time they put the

blame on capitalism, quite ignoring the fact that without the use and increase of capital, no progress or development of any kind to meet the various human demands, is ever possible in the world. At the same time capital cannot be increased except by individual exertion for sake of gain or profit. There are no other possible means of doing this otherwise. A thing which is indispensable, and the means of whose acquisitions are only the freedom of individual exertions to produce the desired results, how can it produce any evil results? The question is beyond understanding of commonsense. But the evil results are there quite apparent and destroying the peace of the world constantly.

Moreover why is produce not consumed? How is it that there are fights and disputes to find suitable spheres for the consumption of industrial produce? Where as supply and demand being always equal, a supply increased to whatever extent, is bound to cause the demand to be increased to the same degree to maintain equality as a matter of course. What is the cause of the failure of the application of this law in this case? Why are fights going on in the world for the consumption of supply which ought to have been consumed automatically by the above law of nature? Here again in no way is capitalism responsible, but neglect of the same law concerning action and reaction in the world. A place or region where material for the use of mankind is produced and obtained, is only one sphere of action where all other actions ought to be exchanged with

money as the common medium. In other words that sphere of action is a market of exchange for different actions to enable everybody to get his actions changed according to his requirement, either by the use of common medium, money, or otherwise, by whatever means available. But instead of this, man acting as brokers are considered to be capitalists and owners of produce. All others come and approach them not to exchange their actions or labour, but as actual labourers to receive the supply, having sold the privileges of actions. In consequence of this the actions of all the world have converged into one point, so that it becomes impossible to allow the consumption of produce to the extent it is produced, or to allow the labourers to meet their demands freely. Were it not for this the consumption of produce by the law of action and reaction (analysis of economic organisation to be based on this law), will always keep more than three quarters of the whole population in want of the produce everywhere in the world. In that case, however an industrial and natural produce may be increased, it can never be surplus to the demand and the cause of fights for its consumption.

Instead of thinking and finding out the real cause, like the irresponsible leaders and reformers of the world, even the socialists have based their theory on a wrong assumption. Two terms, of which one covers the whole world and another INDIA only, have come out of the brains of present leaders without any cause. These two terms and a wrong headed propaganda on

their names, have produced so much confusion and trouble in the world, that the sections of mankind so named have actually reached the state described by these two terms. One of the terms is labourers and the other untouchables. These are the only two words which are responsible for bringing the men described in to the state of actual labourers and untouchables, in seeking their solution as it has been explained in case of freedom or equality. We must always remember that in the search for a certain thing endeavours have always been made in the opposite direction, causing the very thing sought for to be destroyed due to ignorance.

All forms of action performed in this world are equally necessary. All are required by society and are indispensable. All are changeable into a common medium, money, required to meet human demands. All need to be developed to attain any security for society. Then there being inevitably the different sorts of actions which is also natural and indispensable, what is the reason for calling some labourers and untouchables merely from the nature of their actions? The very propaganda and attempts to solve the problem have insulted them and have been the cause of making them actual labourers and untouchables respectively. How do all these men bear this insult and are seen to be happy in finding a solution of problems concerning labourers and untouchables? I always wonder, why every one in the world thinks and acts quite opposite to reality, and becomes the cause of troubles for himself as well as for others.

After this they say that the population of the world is being increased every year, which is also a cause of more unemployment. The blame of this thing too is laid on capitalism. I do not wish to prolong the description by going into every detail. It will be sufficient to say that any increase or development in nature can neither affect an economic theory adversely, nor is so called capitalism in any way responsible for this. But only the faulty analysis of economic and social organisation in the world and the word marriage being taken in a wrong sense is the root cause of all these evils. Any one may see in the course of the production of certain industrial material, that there are some other materials produced as by-products, which were never desired or intended to be produced. Such materials produced as by-products are only used to serve some extra demands which are not so necessary for human requirement. Similarly in the case of the increase in the population, it is generally as by-products. Because in most cases a man and a woman unite together for sexual enjoyment or for gratifying their lust, and in very rare cases for the sake of producing a child. Thus the majority of children are brought into world by way of a by-product. Any thing produced as a by-product cannot serve any good purpose and is never able to take full responsibility. Hence in the absence of a sense of responsibility a majority remain poor, unemployed and underpaid for their labour. How the right to get anything in nature is bound by measure of a sense of responsibility, has been explained in full in the chapter on freedom in this book. The main cause in this connection too, does not lie in the

increase of the population or in the system of capitalism being defective, but merely in the neglect of scientific methods and natural principles. which will be explained in full when required.

The next question is, that it is the very aim of capitalism to keep the majority in utter poverty, because there have been, and always will be intelligent boys who are being deprived of education for want of financial help. Otherwise had they been given a chance, they would have proved very useful to society and successful in their own respective careers, This is a question where I agree in all its aspects, When he is not able to perform independent actions, a boy should not be deprived of any privileges due to any defects on the part of his parents. Hence this question of education and development should be strictly in the hands of society or the state so that equality, freedom and fraternity may prevail. This can never be denied. In what manner this should be arranged in practical life, has been left for discussion on some future occasion. In fact the socialists have worked on quite wrong data. Although the deficiencies and troubles felt are correct, what they suggest have been the results, they are right in suggesting but the cause supposed, and also its solution, are quite wrong, Hence the theory is bound to fail in its practical form which is explained in the following pages.

The use of machinery and other scientific appliances for the production of industrial goods has been admitted and accepted as indispensable in the

world in the same form as is the case at present under the system of so-called capitalism. The socialists quite agree in this connection and say that we cannot possibly go back to our former uncivilised state to achieve the desired results and peace in general. They wish to make the country, a nation or the world at large a common and united family. So that all the wealth of a country, nation or the world should belong to that family. How? To estimate the demand of a year and the articles necessary to meet it having been settled, in order to produce the necessary materials all the work required for its production should be divided among the population. After that the produce is to be divided equally amongst all according to individual requirement, such as wholesome food, clothing and clean lodging for a healthy man, and necessary medicines and medical help for a sick man. Then the arrangement of education for the children under the state and the whole work is finished. They say that a gain or profit means to rob another of his exertions and there is no place for it in socialism. This they say, is the practical solution of terrible poverty. Because only in this system can every one be given work according to his abilities. To establish this they have laid down three main rules based upon their solution:

1. Having abolished the difference of capital and labour, all the means of production (machinery, land and raw material) and also all industrial produce should belong to the state or society and not to any individual.

2. To exact work or labour from all the population according to their respective strength and abilities.

3. The necessary requirements of life, industrial produce and other articles should be divided equally amongst all according to individual need.

In addition to the above they have discussed in their theory various diseases of mankind and their proper protective measures, the production of children on scientific lines, religion--belief in GOD and the duties of a man in connection there with, denying all these useless things--the freedom of women and various other major and minor problems of mankind.

At the time of writing this book I have got nothing with me except my pen, paper and past research in my brain. No reference book of any kind being available neither am I allowed to get one from any where, there is even no good dictionary for consultation. Under the circumstances I am compelled to describe the purport of everything in my own words believing it to be correct to the best of my knowledge, experience and research for the last sixteen years. However in case it may be found different in any way I am always prepared to take in its correct and actual sense. At the same time, I beg to be excused my discrepancy due to not possessing the necessary reference books this occasion. In connection with the

above solution put before the world by socialists, there is only one question to be asked. The sincere answer to that very question will be sufficient to show the impossibility of the scheme being practicable in human society. It does not matter in what terms or words the whole thing is explained. Because all other factors necessary to produce the desired results, even in the terms of socialism, have been explained fully in this book previously, and require no repetition.

What has been explained above, and its solution as given by advocates of socialism, is able to be introduced by a man in the animal region only. The animals are at the stage of performing instinctive actions in the course of evolution, where as a man having developed to the stage of acquiring will and intellect, through his knowledge has the ability and strength for this work of several animals. He can put them to work accordingly and can supply their different needs and requirements to their entire satisfaction by virtue of his possessing will and intellect. Whereas animals being deprived of these, are unable to perform independent actions. It is a hard fact that in the case of animals the actions performed are only instinctive (having neither mistake and error in them nor capable of development or change in their nature). It is very easy to analyse the ability of the actions of every animal, and also to set a limit to their respective requirements, as they are deprived of free and independent actions, ambitions and other such attributes, by being bereft of will and intellect. So by virtue of his will and intellect man is quite competent.

to make such an analysis in the case of animals. Now if these words BY VIRTUE OF WHAT (as a means of proving deserts and the authority for the work done) be placed along side all the items of the above solution, I think no reasonable answer will be forthcoming with reference to each word and every item. I am sure and certain that if socialists are called upon to explain the words "reason", "reasonable", "unreasonable", and "rational", and also are required to prove their explanation with some testimony, the majority of them will not be able to do it satisfactorily, not to mention the application of the terms in some practical form. In the case of human beings possessed of will and intellect capable of development and degradation, liable to make mistakes for want of true knowledge or due to ignorance, it is necessary that anything be tested by the above question. Otherwise anything falling short of the requirement of above reasonable answer will become the cause of slavery, destroying the rights of freedom, equality and fraternity, in consequence of which human society will be annihilated and destroyed in the long run instead of receiving any benefit.

To make the world a combined family, BY VIRTUE OF WHAT is any one competent enough to make anything in the world? By the law of nature (the undestructibility of matter) no one is competent to make any new thing in the universe. The only thing which a man can possibly do, is to realise and understand a thing in its true sense, and then acquire it himself, or help others to acquire it under the system

obtaining in nature. Anything based on a wrong assumption will certainly lead to a wrong solution, as has been explained previously. In reality this world, universe or human society is naturally in the form of a combined family form its very nature, which we are to realise and adopt in practical life, and for this one may be referred to the chapter on fraternity in this book. There is no need to make anything new according to the conceptions and fancies of any individual. Had it been possible to estimate and understand the demands of human beings and their various requirements, due to infinite stages and dispositions in the development of the individual will and intellect in the course of evolution (is possible in the case of animals), then there would not have been any trouble in the world or the world have been a pretty dull one. What a man will require at what juncture and what actions will cause further development of his various faculties, is a thing which no one can know? Therefore man is said to be free individually, subject to no law of society or any other man except the laws of nature which have been explained in every detail in the chapters on freedom and equality. For example, all the medical authorities of the world joined together are unable to lay down for a single man the course of requirements for his physical body alone. Can they say definitely at what time during twenty four hours a healthy human body may be needing what help and food for its requirement? That only has regard to physical need, not to speak of the development of various other faculties of mind and brain (will and intellect). Then who, under the circumstances will

be able to do this work, and BY VIRTUE OF WHAT? It is only possible when every one is free individually to get anything from the world after having paid its proper price with sense of responsibility for his actions always keeping the balance between action and reaction. Moreover gain or profit does not consist in robbing another of his exertions, but a surplus having been realised after the mutual exchange of actions and reactions in preserving equality. Hence one should not be under any illusions through the erroneous explanation of the word "gain" by socialists.

Further there have been no means devised in the world so far, to judge the abilities of a man in full. If there have been any which have not come to my knowledge. I and all the world: will be greatly indebted to any person who will make them known so as to and all troubles of mankind. However, if the services of a man are required in the performance of certain action, then to some extent it can be judged whether the man can prove useful or not in doing that particular action alone, but never his whole abilities. All these things are quite personal and individual, which make it necessary to allow individual freedom and equal opportunities for all in the world. Then to come to its practical form, how and BY VIRTUE OF WHAT deserts and also WHO, will abolish the differences between capital and labour, if they really exist? In what manner will all the wealth in the form of machinery, land and raw material be transferred from the hands of the

individuals to those of society or state? Then how will it be increased afterwards if not by individual exertions? Then of what elements and factors will a state or a society be composed, if not of the same individual human beings possessing will and intellect, liable to err and make mistakes? And BY VIRTUE OF WHAT? Then where lies the certainty that the same human beings forming the society or state, will be above the temptations of the average man, and will not misuse the privileges granted to them, making matters even worse than they are at present? These are the questions which require scientific explanation based on reason and rational ground. Otherwise it is useless introducing impracticable and dangerous schemes in the world to make matters still worse than they are at present and also to bring the worst kind of slavery into human society. The other major and minor things will be explained when satisfactory answers to fundamental questions have been received. But so far, by my experience and research I have gathered that all the required things, and the total abolition of economic slavery in any form, are only possible in the light of the scientific explanation of the terms given in this book. However having removed doubts and misunderstandings wherever necessary, the practical ways will be shown by me to the world to the entire satisfaction of all meeting the needs of all the parties, sections and shades of opinion in the world severally and individually. For the present what has been explained, is quite sufficient for due consideration.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

PLANNING and DEVELOPMENT

Some suggestions with reference to fundamental and basic principles to end mass unemployment for consideration of the General Policies Committee formed in the Viceroy's Executive Council for Post-war Reconstruction (Planning and Development.)

By

S. C. MUDGIL

Research Scholar (Sociology)

These suggestions were submitted by the author to the Central Government of India on 7-4-1945 while he was a serving member of H. B. M. forces. The type written scripts were handed over to the Commandant No. 2 Transportation Centre Jullundur Cantt. for onward despatch to the Govt. but it is not known afterwards whether the matter reached in proper hands or not.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is much gratifying to know that endeavours are being made for India's future uplift by way of laying down policies for Post-war Reconstruction (Planning and Development) by the Government of India, in face of all the circumstantial difficulties due to political dead-lock and controversy in the country, and above all the huge task of war-work and all the activities being engaged in its successful prosecution. I congratulate from the depths of my heart His Excellency, Field Marshal Lord Wavel, The Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Sir Theodore Gregory Economic Advisor to the Government of India, Sir Ardeshar Dalal, the member of the Committee recently formed in Viceroy's Executive Council, for their sincere attempts in this connection, wishing them every success in their plans and praying for it to Almighty.

At this juncture I feel it my duty to introduce myself as one of those unknown research scholars who has spent the major portion of his life in making a thorough research and analysis of the affairs of the world, as to how the present state of affairs has been reached, with a view to finding the rational factors and sound fundamental principles of economic and social organisation, to be the basis of strong

democracy to maintain individual freedom with function of law and morality, in order to ensure complete social security for mankind and also to hold peace and harmony in the world, nationally and internationally for a long time in future after the war, So far the analysis of and research into the affairs of the world is concerned. it is found that merely the lack of proper economic and social organisation and its sound analysis, has been chiefly responsible for mass unemployment and poverty, rather conflicts, clashes, struggles, fights and wars in the world are due to the same reason, destroying the peace of the world every now and then, internally in every nation and internationally on the question of equitable distribution of wealth among the population in different individual units or sections of community in human society. I am confident that so far there seems to be no one in the world in possession of a sound and mathematical theory to ascertain the precise, rational and comprehensive economic system to fulfil the purpose of social security, as it is required in human society for sake of democracy founded on individual freedom to be maintained by law and morality.

Much development has already been made in other countries (if not in India) in this connection i.e. England, America and other western countries. But inspite of all the endeavours and best wishes they have been unable to remove poverty and unemployment among the masses upto this present time or arrange equitable distribution of wealth among the

population, except by way of charity as suggested by the Beverage plan or by being coerced with dictatorship as it is done in Russia, Germany and Italy. But both these methods are deficient in many respects, destroying individual freedom altogether and liable to produce unsoluble chaos, corruption and swindles in society in the long run. The best method to achieve the desired results, is to have a sound, healthy, rational, flexible and co-operative analysis of economic and social organisation in the country to establish strong democracy before the attempts are made and policies are discussed for planning and development in post-war reconstruction. Otherwise, however sincere the endeavours may be, however development may be made on whatever pains, costs, and sacrifices, but this fundamental mistake in the very beginning is sure to lead to the same confusion as regards equitable distribution of wealth, and the question of employment for the majority will always remain insecure, even with the last stage of development in every sphere and with maximum amount of wealth being available for the country.

With this end in view I have come forward with some suggestions in connection with basic principles of proper analysis of economic and social organisation in the country, before attempts are made for planning and policies are laid for development of agriculture and industry on the lines suggested by the Committee, so as to avoid in future the confusion of employment or question of equitable distribution of wealth among

(8) 'The removal and adjustment of control to suit peace conditions.'

(9) "The foundation of improved education, health and housing must be laid at the same time :—

(a) Compulsory, universal and free-education schemes in primary and middle stages.

(b) Public health schemes and medical services

(c) Broad-casting and Village Cinema."

(10) "Development of a healthy co-operative movement."

(11) "Volume of employment will depend on the industrial, agricultural, public works and financial policies."

(12) "Utilisation of natural resources and manpower,

(13) "Social security, welfare and health schemes."

(14) "India's share in world shipping."

II. These are the aims for which long-term and short-term policies have so far been discussed in order to achieve the desired results. Long-term objectives are :—

(1) "The development of electric power for industrial development."

(2) "Pump irrigation for agricultural development."

(3) "Rural Industry."

(4) "The development of Industry with special references to the production of Capital Goods and Consumer Goods required by the bulk of

population, and also the maintenance and development of small scale and Cottage Industry."

- (5) "The development of road communication and transport service on a comprehensive scale, especially in rural areas."

Short-term policies are as follows :—

- (1) "The improvement of agriculture and with it the development of irrigation, anti-erosion measures, and land reclamation etc."

- (2) "Industrial development :—

The limiting factors being the availability of the necessary technical and capital equipment, as well as the willingness of the people to submit to the necessary controls and taxation."

- (3) "Rural and Agricultural Development :—

Social and material advancement of people in rural area may proceed to simultaneously on all fronts. The measures being improved methods of agriculture, better live stock, organised marketting, the relief of indebtedness, anti-erosion, irrigation and reclamation measures, reforms in land tenure, and the law of inheritance, improved communications, medical and health services and education.

The most serious obstacle is the absences of any real leadership and self help in the villages themselves. (Panchayats, Co-operative Societies and village School Masters may be utilized for this purpose). Population being too large for the land available for cultivation."

opportunities are produced for all (in the course of development by planning) to increase their purchasing power).

In reality an employment in its true sense means purchasing power of man arising out of his radical course of action, and not necessarily a job provided by others on payment of wages and the like. Then the question comes that what are the sources of supply? The answer to this is that the natural resources of the country (over which every individual has birth right) and actions of mankind by way of development of agriculture, industry, commerce and a big extension of social services. For all this arrangement the analysis of economic and social organisation is very essential.

CHAPTER III.

The Fundamental Basis of analysis of economic organisation.

The entire population has to live on the available natural resources of the country, over which all have not equal birth right. But it is practically impossible to divide these resources equally or in any other proportion amongst the whole population. So it is natural that unless all the individuals of the country accept to work on those resources in co-operative units (each unit approaching the resources with partial energy) for their economic needs, it will be impossible to fulfil the requirement of any one or to make possible

any kind of development or progress. Hence there is a slogan "from poverty to power through co-operation and planning". Co-operation is only possible when units of different qualities work together for common aim. Otherwise Unions of individuals having similar qualities cannot be called a co-operative society rather it is a monopoly, as it is done and considered at present. In co-operation it is very essential that the work to be accomplished by one factor may not be done by another (or it may not be allowed to be done so). Otherwise there will ensue a competition of selfish pursuits, making the organisation in a morbid state, and liable to decrease the field of action, producing unemployment and economic slavery telling seriously upon purchasing power of a number of individuals. This is the first and foremost point to be considered in the analysis of economic organisation.

Freedom will be a meaningless term if it is not accompanied by responsibility i.e. the right of individual freedom is to be measured with the extent of sense of responsibility in him, so as to count for relative conditions of richness and poverty, to be capitalist or labourer. Once in his broadcast on 21st March 1943, the Prime Minister Mr. Churchill said, "Human beings are endowed with infinite varying qualities and dispositions and each one is different from the other. We cannot make them all the same. It will be a pretty dull world if we did. It is in our power, however, to secure equal opportunities for all." So that equal opportunities may be secured for all the responsibility of an individual is of two kinds.

Firstly he is responsible to provide for himself and his family (wife and children) the necessities of daily life and also to save to meet the common vicissitudes of normal life as sickness, old age and unemployment (having increased his purchasing power.) Secondly he is responsible to develop his radical course of action so as to contribute his share to produce work for others for further development. To the extent one is prepared to show one's responsibility in the latter, the freedom of rights can be granted to the same degree in society. This is the second point in connection of proper analysis of economic system.

How co-operative Units are to be formed so that all the population may have direct approach with the natural resources to fulfil their respective needs (with their purchasing power), in order to solve the question of employment once for all, and also equitable distribution of the wealth may be settled even before it is produced. In this case there will remain the work of increasing the individuals' purchasing power only for further development which can be accomplished by systematic planning, guidance and leadership. To have this done, the energy for performing an action may be analysed into its constituent parts to form the Units, so that every individual may approach the resources with only one factor of energy to secure his radical course of action and not with whole energy, which is to be utilised for further development to increase one's purchasing power on the one hand and to produce work for others on the other hand. Then allowing purchasing power to each of the units thus formed will settle the

question of freedom of rights, employment and equitable distribution of the wealth from the very beginning. This is the third point to be considered in the proper analysis of the system.

Then comes the function of law or the Government to control and maintain the system and its analysis thus found out on rational basis. Because for sake of co-operation an individual can be allowed to approach the natural resources with a partial energy only, but due to selfishness and temptation any one is likely to arrange his approach with full energy (the main cause of exploitation, monopoly and slavery) liable to cause unemployment for others. So it is necessary that the law and the Government or state should take necessary measures to have control on the system in such a way that no one may be able to arrange his approach to the natural resources with more than one form of energy. Then mere control will be a confusion as it is not accompanied by support where it is needed for development. It means that control accompanied with support for all actions of mankind, is required to maintain individual freedom accompanied with responsibility, in order to form strong democracy. A Government for the people and by the people, the people for the Government as it is promised to be. Having connected systematically the services of the entire population with the law or the Government of control and support, we can call the system as a system to be for public interest whether it is for the public or that of an individual. In absence of such a link between the Government and the people, the

country, all the actions will be a sort of private or monopolised ones liable to produce condition of exploitation. However these private and monopolised actions may seem to produce good and favourable results on the whole, but being against democratic principles, will always affect adversely the question of employment and purchasing power of the individuals. This is the fourth point to be considered in this connection.

After co-operation there comes the problem of planning, which is generally monopolised by the Government in nearly all the countries. But as I have shown already that activities of any kind if found in the Government's machinery and not in individual life or vice versa can never be for the interest of the public or that of democracy, but purely private and monopolised. So in order to have full co-operation of entire population with the Government (first and foremost provision of democracy,) the planning should develop from individual activities, to be linked up systematically in their respective proper places in the Government machinery. Otherwise there will always be a clash between private and individual interests and those of the public and the state, and co-operation will become impossible being coerced by authority of the law or dictatorship. This is the fifth point to be considered in economic organisation of a country on democratic principles.

Then at present the planning in its developed stage has been given much purchasing power, where as in its initial or radical stage it is generally

field of action to such an extent as can supply employment to all, starting from radical courses of action with purchasing power to be increased by systematic development in order to raise individuals' standard of living, and the question of equitable distribution of the wealth having been decided from the very beginning, even before the wealth is produced. At the same time freedom of action will be granted to all individually, and the aims of development will be achieved without being coerced with authority of the law or dictatorship, except proper control where the activities are liable to imperil the purpose of co-operation; and to make good the control there will be support from the Government where development is needed. Hence the acceptance of law and control accompanied with support will be by faith and co-operation rather than by force of authority. This is the meaning of true democracy.

Having made an analysis of economic organisation on the basis suggested above there will be a full co-operation between the Government and all the citizens of country. It does not matter what form of constitution there will be of the Government machinery in the country. But if it is to be on democratic principle, there must be such a co-operation, not coerced by authority but based on faith and goodwill of leadership. The essential foundation of a democracy are individual freedom to be maintained by law and morality. Freedom is very essential for development, which is to be achieved from natural resources of the country. Natural resources being common to the entire population (which cannot be divided equally

amongst all), development is to be made by allowing an approach to them with partial energy of every individual citizen, forming units of several factors of energy for sake of co-operation, allowing full purchasing power to each unit. Then endeavours to increase his purchasing power by every man, with the use of his full energy, will enable the development to reach its highest stage with minimum labour and maximum results. In order that any one man may not attempt his approach to the natural resources with his full energy (which is to be utilised for increasing one's purchasing power), the existence of the law or the Government is also necessary for control of the analysis of economic system.

Then development of any kind being impossible without proper planning, guidance and leadership, which is to be arranged as one of the co-operative Units for individual activities in the society to be called support for individual morality, and must be supported by the Government. In individual life development of agriculture, industry, commerce and social service is to be done with freedom of action as described above, and its morality is to be maintained by the Unit consisting of men responsible for planning, guidance and leadership, which is to be selected by anyone according to his own choice, faith and belief. In the Government constitution control is to be imposed by law with its administrative and Executive Authority, and its morality is to be maintained by the Legislature and Judicial Authority, which is to be elected from the co-operative Unit of men responsible for planning, guidance and leadership in individual life.

and who will have already been accepted by the masses according to their respective faiths and beliefs and with their free choice.

Thus law and morality co-operating with one another in the Government Constitution will be functioning control on and support to the individual activities, working in co-operative units for sake of development of agriculture, industry, commerce and social services, gaining their respective morality from their leaders, who in turn representing the masses in the Legislation, will produce harmony and satisfaction everywhere with possibility of maximum stage of development with minimum cost. This will be called democracy, a Government by the people and for the people, every citizen having equal rights of independent approach to the natural resources of the country for his employment. This will be true home rule, self Government or representative constitution, irrespective of what form the constitution may take and whether the political power be in the hands of a foreign body or that of a local one. Under this system of economic organisation the question of safeguards of minorities does not arise, as there can be no minority less than an individual whose rights will have been safeguarded in every respect. This being a political issue, hence I leave its discussion for some future occasion, when I may be permitted to do so.

CHAPTER IV

Application of the Basic Principles to the aims and objectives set forth in the beginning.

(a) AIMS

I. It has already been shown that how the aim of raising the standard of living of the people as a whole as well as individually will be easily achieved by the proper analysis of economic organisation on the suggested bases providing independent employment for all. The purchasing power will have been assigned to all individually in co-operative units formed after the factors to be found in analysis of energy for action to allow individual approach to natural resources for development.

according to fancy, imagination and whims of certain individuals or of the state. Because it is nothing else than coercion by dictatorship in some form or the other. The democratic principles can never admit a theory or dogma which may be against individual freedom and human nature. Its solution is only possible as has been suggested in the principles that individuals are to be allowed their respective approach to the natural resources with their partial energy, working in co-operative units with the function of law and morality under democratic government. In this case the desired equitable distribution of wealth will have been decided from its very source even before it is produced, in order to avoid further distribution or re-distribution of individuals' income or even work by any body, causing too much waste of production energy to be used in distribution and operation of such methods.

3. Security of poorer classes by amenities and other facilities, and reasonable wages for labour will be decided after the definition of the poorer classes and then also means to fit them into the suggested economic analysis for increasing their purchasing power, having produced the radical courses of action for them in co-operative units. For practical purposes it is essential that all the poverty and unemployment should be brought at one point for liquidation, most justly in the units of the fittest persons to liquidate it. After this only that unit, in which the poverty and unemployment has been brought, will be considered an appropriate poorer unit, entitled to amenities and

defence services personnel and of labour disposed from war industry, and military works".

This work can be accomplished even before demobilisation takes place. All the personnels can be classified according to their standard to fit them in the suggested analysis, as to what radical course of action or employment is to be assigned to each in the several co-operative units, so that no sooner they are released from military than they begin their work accordingly to develop it further.

6. "The orderly disposal of surplus military store, equipment, land and buildings".

The disposal of this item will take place more orderly in the suggested analysis, than it would have been otherwise. Every kind of store, equipment, land and buildings will be awaited where it is actually needed, even before such things are made available for disposal. And they will reach into appropriate hands where they may be used to the utmost advantage.

7. "The conversion of industry from war to peace".

This aim requires much consideration and sound planning before fitting it into a proper place in the organisation. Its easy and practicable methods will be shown, if I am ever required to put up my scheme for practical measures.

8. "The removal or adjustment of control to suit peace condition."

For purpose of control it will be the best measure if the analysis of economic organisation is

made immediately and brought into force practically. The cost, troubles and pains which are taken at present for control will be saved to a great extent if not removed altogether. Also the likelihood of black-market corruption, bribery, boarding, profiteering and all other troubles of similar kinds will be ended if control is exercised having made the analysis before hand. Under the system suggested the control will be arranged to meet any situation whether war or peace without involving extra cost, monopoly purchase and distribution, danger of black market and profiteering, the cost of investigation of such crimes and also their trials. All these difficulties will be saved. It will take neither time nor cost more than that which is required for taking a census. On approval of the fundamentals I shall put a practical and detailed scheme for consideration if required.

9. "The foundation of improved education, health and housing must be laid down at the same time.

- (a) Compulsory, Universal and free education scheme in primary and middle stages.
- (b) Public health scheme and medical services.
- (c) Broadcasting and village cinema."
- (a) Primary education must be aimed to reveal the tendencies and bent of mind of a child to settle his would be capacity (from his elementary knowledge) for further development, as to which of the co-operative

units the child will be fit for. So that he or she may be given the secondary or middle school education accordingly, enabling him to start his life career from the particular radical course of action and also enabling him to continue his study further if circumstances so permit.

(b) Health and medical service will be assigned to some particular unit which will be considered eligible for this work, in the suggested analysis of economic organisation. So that in case of any deficiency in this respect the responsibility may be laid somewhere to mend the defects.

(c) Broadcasting and village cinema will be arranged with co-operative funds in the villages with aid of the local government where necessary.

10. "Development of a healthy co-operative movement."

I need not say that all this suggested remedy is meant for development of a healthy and co-operative movement on a universal and comprehensive scale and nothing less.

11. "Volume of employment will depend on the industrial, agricultural, public works and financial policies."

Not volume of employment, but increase of

individual purchasing power thereby raising the standard of living will depend on these items. The question of employment will already have been settled by assignment of radical courses of action having purchasing power for all citizens by allowing every one to approach the resources with their partial energy of each to form co-operative units. Introducing the system on practical measures, nothing is to be disturbed from the existing conditions, except those who are approaching the resources with more than one factors of energy. The radical courses of action thus released will be quite sufficient to provide for all the radical courses individually. No one is to be disturbed in any way as regards his wealth, property, capital, power, authority or the like. Only for future he is to be prohibited to increase his purchasing power from more than one factors of energy and that is all.

12. "Utilisation of natural resources and man power".

This is what I have aimed at in my basic principles to be introduced on practical measures, which will be shown to the entire satisfaction of all, if desired.

13. "Social Society, welfare and health schemes".

This is a very vast subject to be dealt with, I have already submitted my research thesis (in type written scripts) in this connection to the Government of India through the Military Authorities and therein I have explained the fundamentals of social security in every detail.

"POST-WAR SOCIAL SECURITY"

OR

Democracy with reference to Freedom,
Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and
Practical Politics.

By S. C. MUDGIL

Research Scholar (Sociology) Lahore.

*(This book is under publication and will come in
public hands very soon.)*

14. "India's share in world shipping" This being a political rather international question, hence I must leave it for the present.

(b) LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES.

"(1) The development of electric power for industrial development. (2) Pump irrigation for agricultural development. (3) Rural industry. (4) The development of industry with special reference to the production of Capital goods and the consumer goods required by the bulk of the population and also the maintenance and development of small scale and cottage industry. (5) The development of road communication and transport service on a comprehensive scale, especially in rural areas."

These long term objectives will have to be arranged for achievement having analysed them in order to fit them in the analysis of economic organisation, so that it may be decided as to which work belongs to what particular unit and arising out of what factor of energy to achieve maximum success with minimum

labour and cost and in comparatively less time. This will be shown accordingly when the fundamental and the basic principles are approved or discussed to remove any doubts.

(c) SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVES.

1. "The improvement of agriculture and with it the development of irrigation, anti-erosion measures, land reclamation."

Here I shall explain very briefly as an example for practical measure, how the approach of individuals may be arranged with partial energy to form co-operative units to abolish unemployment. Now land is one of the natural resources on which improvement of agriculture is to be made. In how many ways one can have approach to this land?

1. By way of ownership entitled to get rent for its use, in the vast and collective sense all land will belong to the state or Government (not in possession as advocated in the socialists theory) giving the latter entitlement of getting revenue. It needs not mention that this kind of approach makes one also responsible for its protection in every respect.

2. By way of possession. He is the farmer or actual cultivator.

3. By way of planning, guidance and leadership. This man is responsible for development and improvement and also for the education of the children.

4. By way of supplying implements and other mechanical material necessary for farming, agriculture and irrigation.

5. The man responsible for anti-erosion measures. He is also responsible to supply manure and take possession of all the waste and salvage to prepare and supply manure and other such work necessary for growth of crops. This man is also responsible for sanitation and cleanliness for general health and hygiene.

6. The man who is to deal with the agricultural produce to arrange exchange of different commodities according to different needs and also to arrange for export and import.

If approach in this connection is arranged like this or similar manner according to the basic principles, I hope this kind of co-operative arrangement will prove much useful in making improvement as desired within a short time. Then poor and unemployed among the educated masses may be given a chance to work in the Unit, consisting of men responsible for planning, guidance and leadership. As any one of the above said six men will require individual planning, guidance and leadership, hence these educated men can be distributed among the population for desired uplift. Every educated man can be responsible for average ten or more men (according to local conditions) for increasing their purchasing power by systematic development in order to raise everyone's standard of living to make them live independently as good citizens.

In this way the desired results will be achieved by mutual co-operation on the one hand, and poverty and unemployment will be abolished on the other hand

without laying any cost of administration on the shoulders of the Government. If amenities and other facilities are provided to these poor and educated men by way of training and the like, then in order to raise their own purchasing power, they will prove incentive and do their utmost to raise the standard of living of all the other units. The development of agriculture will take place without any difficulty, provided proper control is exercised for maintaining the co-operative units so formed. More practical details will be given on some future occasion when required.

2. Industrial Development.

"The limiting factors being the availability of the necessary technical personnels and capital equipment, as well as the willingness of the people to submit to the necessary control and taxation".

This drawbacks of limiting factors and the willingness of the people to submit to the necessary control and taxation, will be removed altogether as soon as the analysis of the organisation is made and the system introduced on practical measures. Because all the work will be carried on by mutual co-operation, faith and belief. Hence every one will submit to the necessary control and reasonable taxation, having been beneficial to him in raising his own standard of living.

3. Rural and Agricultural Development.

"Social and material advancement of people in rural areas may proceed simultaneously on all fronts. The measure : Improved methods of agri-

culture, better livestock, organised marketting, the relief of indebtedness, anti-erosion, irrigation and reclamation measures, reforms in land tenure, the laws of inheritance, improved communication, medical and health services and education.

The most serious obstacle is the absence of any real leadership in the village themselves (Panchayats), Co-operative Societies and village school master may be utilized for this purpose.)"

"Population being too large for the land available for cultivation".

The measures suggested are quite alright. The drawbacks felt in this connection will be removed altogether as I have explained briefly in describing item No. 1 above.

4. Animal Husbandry.

Those farmers who have not sufficient land in their possession may take up the work of animal husbandry under systematic guidance and leadership.

D. COST.

1. "It will be by the increased revenues resulting from expenditure on the above items that comprehensive social services on modern lines must eventually be financed."

The social problem is also one of the vital needs of human society or entire citizens of a nation. Hence it is very essential that analysis of social organisation too may be made before starting activities in this connection. The important point to be considered in

this connection is that at no stage this social organisation may affect adversely the problem of economic question, being a vital and indispensable necessity of life. After doing this and entrusting its development to the men responsible for planning, guidance and leadership, there will be required less or no cost to be borne by the Government. The desired results will be achieved very easily, producing harmony, satisfaction and feelings of fraternity everywhere in the country.

2. "Question of financing in war time and re-costruction is suggested by means of taxation and loans. Rs. 1000 crores will be required (as it is estimated) for the first five years' period. Half of it will be spent from surplus revenue and the other half by loans and private investments".

I shall show as soon as I am required to do so that how the scheme can be made self-supporting. The necessity of loans will never arise, nor is it desirable under any circumstances or it will imperil the purpose of development and independence in the long run. As far taxation, it will be arranged in such a manner as no one may feel its burden.

Before closing I wish to explain what is meant by employment in terms of freedom and democracy. I think by this definition all the doubts will be removed as to the suitability of my scheme. Because I am quite confident that I can produce such a state of affairs within as much time and cost as it is required to take a census, to remove all the difficulties in the way of the Government as well as in that of the public.

1. Who is doing such actions as corroborate strictly to one's natural inclination or traits of characteristics according to one's own natural bent of mind ? Every man is endowed by nature with certain traits and characteristics, which if allowed to be developed properly with independence and freedom, can make one attain any desired position in life with minimum cost and maximum results. If one is unable to find work accordingly, he cannot be called an employed in true sense. Although he may be in earning capacity and living quite comfortably. Failing to get work according to one's natural bent of mind, a man will put only some part of his energy into the work. Only as much as it is absolutely necessary for his own selfish ends and he will never put his whole energy with full sense of responsibility as it is required of him for raising the standard of others and the like. Hence much of his time and energy will remain unused.

In this case, if he is gainfully occupied, then with that surplus energy and time at his disposal, he will indulge in extravagance and pleasurable pursuits of sensual or sexual employment, likely to bear bad effects on general morality in the community, sometimes leading to serious social scandals and other such things. If otherwise (if he is not gainfully occupied), the much of his time and energy will be spent on schemes to exploit wealth and riches by unfair and illegal means, which will lead him to do serious crimes like corruption, bribery, theft, murder and the like. This condition of unemployment

is generally responsible for nearly all the crimes in society. Such things can never be avoided by any method of police, investigation, trials, or penal servitudes, in presence of the root cause being there.

2. One, whose work does not yield (by way of free and independent purchasing power) as much income as is necessary to live according to local standard of living with provision to save for the common vicissitudes of life, cannot be termed an employed.

3. One cannot be called an employed, if one is not doing creative, productive or sustaining work which becomes the cause of developing and increasing the wealth of the country as a whole.

4. One cannot be said to be employed in true sense, who can find no opportunities to develop one's radical course of action to increase one's purchasing power so as to attain any desirable position and standard of living in life.

If employment may be considered in the manner spoken of above, I think there will be found few men in the country who can be called employed. Any how all this and other similar things will be discussed in every detail to arrive at a precise, rational and comprehensive system, having received response to my suggestions.

Jullugdur Cantt.

Dated 3-4-1945

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The
WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Before analysing the Wardha Scheme of Education for discussion, I wish to lay emphasis on the point (to prove it if required) that during the last so many centuries, the leaders of the world in human society especially in India (in their over-enthusiasm to benefit the cause of humanity) have produced such a state of chaos and confusion (due to ignorance). that now it seems very difficult, if not impossible, to readjust the affairs of society as regards peace, harmony and satisfaction with reference to freedom, equality, fraternity and the question of political power. Unable to realise even the very meanings of the words (beyond their respective spellings and synonymous terms in different languages), they enter into profitless discussions and controversies in such a manner, that the very object which they desire to achieve, is annihilated in their activities to achieve it in practical life. They have always searched their object in the opposite regions where the achievement was utter impossible. Having failed to achieve the desired object, they start discussion by laying the blame on each other and thus becoming the cause of wasting much of the time, energy and wealth of the country in satisfying their sentiments based on fancy, imagination and other superficial views. They have never thought

own satisfaction nor to that of the public. It is just like waking man asleep by another, who himself is sleeping by an unconscious hit. The cause of all this confusion and jeopardy is that these leaders, due to humanitarians instincts, sympathetic feelings and somewhat developed intellect with vague ideas, come in the field of public life quite unprepared, and only by way of speculation. I admit, no doubt that they work with sincere heart without being selfish in any way. But not having analysed their own thoughts before taking the responsibility of becoming public leaders, they go on making experiments of their tentative schemes on the public cost and sacrifice, but cannot lead the masses to any desired goal except confusions, chaos, mutual hatred, communal strifes and sense of insecurity for all with their ludicrous statements.

Hence consciously or unconsciously, instead of being benefactors of the general public, they become their worst enemies. But the masses being generally devoid of free thinking, become hypnotised by their propaganda in such a way, that in their confusion and insecurity, they never try to understand the correct state of affairs. I have explained these things in every detail in my book "Post-war Social Security" (under publication) and I shall show in the following pages all such things as a specimen in connection with the Wardha Scheme of Education and Mahatma Gandhi, who has been considered and believed to be the greatest leader in India, an apostle of non-violence and truth or the like. I shall show how he does not understand his own

thoughts and conceptions to establish them in the country. Although the troubles and difficulties felt by him are correct, what he demands, is also quite desirable and appropriate, but the ways and methods of their achievement, and also their causes as they have been supposed by him, are quite wrong and are leading to confusion rather than satisfaction, to the path of violence rather than non-violence, as he wrongly believes them to be. In reality, the poor fellow has not been able to understand the meaning of the word violence, how is it produced in the world, and what are the remedies to avoid it? Although he has got firm belief in the cult of non-violence, but so far it is only a cult and not a thing which he might have realised even in his dream.

The affairs of the world or a country have never been a difficult question to readjust for arranging individual freedom, equality and fraternity under the control of the law or political power to produce peace, harmony and satisfaction. They are not difficult even to-day under any conditions, circumstances or confusion, provided only a single man in the country (leaving the whole population) wishes them to be adjusted. And then he acquires sufficient knowledge and skil to accomplish the task with the application of non-violence and truth. Non-violence is the highest conception of truth, the theme of every religion and the only support of this universe in all spheres of activities. It is the weapon of God Almighty, by which He controls the Universe, keeping the equilibrium of action and re-action stable at all times. With proper application of this law no struggle, sacrifice or unnecessary cost in

wasting the wealth and energy of the country or causing the masses to suffer the hardest trials, are ever required to achieve anything especially from the hands of democratic nation. Because such activities lead to violence, confusion and state of insecurity for all, as the condition has already been produced in the country. In reality, the harm done to the cause of the country in general, by the wrong activities of these leaders, under the assumed role of non-violence, has reached such an extent, as cannot be remedied by the coming generations.

So much hatred has been produced in public life, that one man hates the other, thus causing to degenerate, beyond repair the ideal of humanity, and also affecting adversely the very existence of an individual human being. No one seems to be able to maintain one's self-determination. All this conflict has been brought about in the name of non-violence, which knows no conflict, hatred and clash in its operation. The greatest is the weapon, the worst kind of harm it will produce if handled wrongly i. e. harm to the same degree, as it would have done good, had it been handled correctly. Any action based on non-violence to produce hatred, confusion and conflict seems quite paradoxical and is beyond understanding of commonsense.

The misuse of non-violence (which is the very weapon of God Almighty) or I may call the worst kind of violence being practised in guise of non-violence, has led the Brahman to leave the path of renunciation (the shortest way to have one's union

with God), and to come down to take part in the affairs of the world or to adopt the path of anunciation (the longest road for one's aim). Because the Brahman cannot bear and afford to see the weapon of God being disgraced by misuse in the hands of men, on the one hand, and feels it his duty to lead the world on to the path of righteousness, justice and mutual love of human beings leading them ultimately to Godhood, having developed their activities with understanding on the other hand, according to their own standard of knowledge, belief and faith and individual requirements to produce social security, and self-determination for all individually and severally, nationally and internationally.

Anything if acquired, adopted and followed as a cult in one's individual capacity, is always right and will certainly lead the person to the goal desired by him in attaining peace and happiness. But the same thing if it is required to be preached for other's success and happiness, one is required to develop it to the stage of realisation, in order to find its source and root cause, so that he may not become the cause of producing confusion in the world, as it is done in the case of non-violence and Mahatma Gandhi. It is not an easy job to become a leader to play with public sentiments on their cost and sacrifice, and giving them nothing in return except unrest, uneasiness, confusion, misunderstanding, state of unsoluble chaos and what not, and at the same time telling seriously upon individual freedom. I am confident and shall say, with all humility that

having been a public leader all his life, Mahatma Gandhi is still able to work better only in his individual and personal capacity as a moral teacher, with his cult of non-violence. He would have produced far better results had he played a role for which he was mostly fit. But every one has been misfit in the society in a wrong place, where neither one can be useful for society nor for one's own self, thus causing the field of action to become narrower refusing work to many and ultimately becoming the main cause for mass unemployment, poverty and insufficient wages for labour. Although the activities are in the name of non-violence, but unconsciously the causes for violence are being produced everywhere, due to social insecurity of the majority of the population in the country unable to find ways to maintain their self-determination.

Let it be taken for granted that preaching a cult for others' satisfaction (except in individual and private capacity as a moral teacher), is the worst kind of sin and an evil act causing to produce immense harm beyond repair to the society, unless the cult is practised in one's life and stage of its realisation has been reached. So that the principles may be connected with the accepted facts of life to show their actual demonstration in practical measures in every sphere of activities. Once before, this cult of non-violence was wrongly preached in the world by Buddhism, and as its result the whole of the East specially the continent of Asia, was thrown into an age of darkness in no time. Ever since, the continent of Asia, having lost its culture and Civilisa-

consumption in industry. Then it so happened, that they chanced to occupy many territories in the East, and are still keeping them under their control for their respective needs. It is wrongly called by the name of exploitation, whereas actually they came to get these things, in exchange of their services, and is chiefly due to want of a sound and comprehensive system to fulfil the need of social security in human society (which they had always been anxious and trying to find out). Wherein they may be able to derive the benefits as desired by them by exchange of service and peacefully, without taking the unnecessary burden of political control in the foreign countries.

They never came in the East to establish the authority of law or to be in possession of any country from political point of view. But as these countries were lacking in proper system of government which made their trade interests insecure. So under the circumstances they were compelled to hold and establish their political control over the Eastern countries—not because they wanted it—but only to safeguard their own interests. In every person, group of persons or a nation, the self interest (which is wrongly termed as selfishness) is naturally predominant, which can never be eschewed or eradicated with any known method of violence, preaching, other superficial methods or for the cause of humanity. To compel them to transfer the political power in local hands, without their trade interests being ensured (for the purpose they crossed the

seas and performed all sorts of sacrifices having tolerated all the pains and hardships to achieve it) will be pure violence. Whereas non-violence never demands that any one else's interests may be crushed or affected adversely in order to achieve one's own rights and desires. Moreover, since the time, they have occupied the Eastern territories, they have served them to the best of their efforts by way of development of agriculture and other natural resources, industry, education and culture available since the dawn of modern civilisation. Now with the improved conditions of transport and other communication arrangements, having minimised the difficulty of time and distance, we still require their assistance and services in various activities of human life, if not in connection with politics. Their services still cannot be dispensed with or it will prove disastrous for the Eastern countries. Only they have been unable so far, to establish a system in which individual rights of liberty, equality and fraternity may be safely guarded abolishing unemployment, poverty and the hardest anxieties of mankind resulting out of this. But they themselves are lacking in their system and are sincerely trying to find out some ways to end the troubles felt in this connection. As it is clear from my discussion on the Beveridge Plan. As soon as such a system is found, they themselves will try to get rid of the burden of political controls in foreign lands, not finding it beneficial in anyway to bother about, their own interests being safer than at present.

The question will be asked, is it possible? To

which I shall boldly answer in the affirmative. Those who do not believe it, they do not believe God Almighty according to their own respective belief and faiths. Because when He created Adam (the first man), God Almighty definitely promised that whatever desire will arise in Adam, it will be fulfilled to his entire satisfaction. Although at the same time Adam was advised not to have any desire if he wished to remain in perfect happiness in the garden of Eden. He did not pay heed to the advice of his Master (Creator) in consequence of which he was expelled from the Garden of Eden and thrown on the earth to suffer. Ever since in order to regain his entry in the Garden of Eden, the progeny of Adam (human beings) have been increased and multiplied to form the population of the world. Out of them some have been fortunate enough to minimise their desires and able to get back into the garden where as majority are going on to increase their desires and increasing the population of the world and also their own anxieties and sufferings.

Then God ordered all the other existing creation in the Universe to bow down before Adam. This order was obeyed by every one but Satan, who has always been a nuisance and cause of harshest anxieties for mankind ever since through his instigation, Adam was expelled from the Garden of Eden to come down on the earth. God knew it fully well that the progeny of Adam will increase and multiply in the world to reach its numbers to several thousands of millions. Had there been no such method to fulfil the desires of

all without having clash with each other producing violence, disturbance and confusion, God would never have made such a promise. When the promise had definitely been made, there must be some sure ways also for its realisation. God can never bluff. It is only the ignorance of man that he does not try to understand the ways of God. In order to make aggrandisement, man always tries to measure the world and its ways with his own limited brain and other faculties. Ways and works of God are many, various and infinite to such an extent that no man can imagine even, not to speak of knowing them. Similarly "human beings have infinitely varied possibilities and dispositions, each one differing from the other". Hence it is most essential and imperative that each person should be free individually to make progress in his own way and according to his own desires developing his senses and faculties in any way he likes and even then instead of having clash with desires of others, he may be contributing his share for the general benefit of the society as a whole consciously or unconsciously.

I shall show, how these free and independent action of mankind (in individual capacities based even on individuals selfish motives, desires etc.) will never have clash with each other rather quite the opposite. Every one getting his heart's desires of his own accord, so that there may prevail peace, happiness and satisfaction in the society of mankind on the one hand, and all may have their firm belief in God Almighty, having seen the kingdom of God on earth on the other

hand leading all men to the path of justice, peace and righteousness. Otherwise it is no use establishing idol worship in the world instead of God worship, Idol worship does not consist in finding God through an idol of one's ideal having developed it to reach Godhood, but it lies in making idol of God, truth and non-violence according to one's own limited brain, fancy and imagination

This world and Universe is outcome of action and reaction (cause and effect) which are always equal in force and opposite in their qualities. So long every action is supported in the world by its own reaction, there remains harmony and satisfaction and violence does not arise. In spheres other than the society of mankind, all the actions being done instinctively with no choice or will of the doer, so nature itself is responsible to keep the balance of action and reaction stable in those regions. Hence there is never found unrest, disturbance and confusion in activities of these spheres. But in the society of men, due to their choice based on will and intellect liable to make mistakes and errors and then to gain knowledge thereby for further progress and development), under the influence of Satanic power, this balance or equilibrium of action and reaction is disturbed producing disharmony. As a result of this disturbance some one's rights of freedom and self-determination become insecure. Then that element finds no other alternative than to use violence to ensure the safety of his rights thus affected. Once the violence is produced (by disturbance of the equilibrium of action and reaction), it goes on

increasing till every one's position becomes insecure, and the world cannot think other than violence to be the means of safety and peace. This is what has happened since the dawn of modern civilisation. The balance of action and reaction in human society has been disturbed to such an extent that no one finds his position safely guarded except by the use of violence or exploiting other's rights by having made monopoly of the law and authority attached with economic resources by the Government, and of public service, sacrifices, leadership and charity by the leaders in the world. This monopoly attitude based on exploitation and violence on the part of Governments and the leaders, is solely responsible for mass troubles, unemployment, utter poverty and other harshest anxieties of mankind everywhere in the world especially in India where these things are felt acutely.

The remedy is not possible unless the equilibrium of action and reaction is adjusted to produce harmony so that all may realise their respective desires individually and severally, nationally or internationally. This is the very purpose for which the Brahman has taken the responsibility of doing it to accomplishment, satisfying all men in the world. He will show (by attaching himself with every kind of action, even with the worst kinds of evils practised in the world to find their suitable places in society in fitness of the things, although in doing so the Brahman will take the risk of being ridiculed or even putting himself in danger of losing his own aim of Godhood) how can all get their respective objects of diverse desires with all the freedom

of action without having clash with each other thus making the whole society of mankind in the world as one body. Let all the world (with all their different demands and desires) migrate to India for satisfaction, or let the political power be in any hands foreign or local. It makes no difference for the Brahmin to satisfy all arranging freedom of rights and actions or independent employment for all individuals, to show the power and grace of God Almighty, truth and non-violence. Otherwise there is no need making aggrandisement by any one without giving satisfaction and feelings of security to all.

I hope that so much as I have mentioned above, will be sufficient for the present, for educating the minds of the leaders to enlighten them to know the reality. Now coming to the question of education and the Wardha Scheme let me mention that "in education and other departments of human activities it is men that count not methods and schemes." Even the best method or scheme is liable to be turned into swindle at the hands of bad men and vice versa. In the State administration everything is to be executed by men and not by angels. I have already described and shall repeat it again in the words of Mr. Churchill (the late Prime Minister), to impress the point that "human beings are endowed with infinitely varying qualities and dispositions. Each one is different from the other. We cannot make them all the same. It will be a pretty dull world if we did, It is, in our power, however, to secure equal opportunities for all. We cannot afford to have idlers in our community. Idlers at the top make

introduction with the remark that the Wardha Scheme of Education with its methods of teaching may be good as a scheme or method, and I would have appreciated it as such, had it been developed in the mind of a teacher or had Mahatma Gandhi himself been a teacher in his personal and private capacity. It is still a puzzle to my brain and common sense that why has Mahatma Gandhi assumed the role of a leader while he thinks in terms of an individual in his private and personal capacity. Not believing in individual freedom of man and still leading the masses to the goal of freedom and independence to produce all this confusion and disturbance having propagated the general minds with sentimental appeals.

In discussing the scheme, I shall show how the ideas underlying the scheme can be developed to make them comprehensive on a universal scale, a work befitting the brain of a leader. So that the principles may be correlated and linked with accepted facts of life to show their actual demonstration in practical lives of his followers in providing self supporting education to the masses, enabling them to achieve independent employments and occupations without intervention of the State Administration, in their individual, personal and private capacities, being prepared to lay down such schemes, methods and extents according to different environments and circumstances with all the freedom of action and with the sense of responsibility as to the rights and duties of citizenship. The function of the law or the State in terms of democracy is only to make and maintain a correct and a comprehensive analysis of economic and

social organisation in the country as suggested by the leaders or legislation, so that any one man's actions may not come in the way of another or society in general and the work may be carried on with all the freedom of action by co-operation as I have explained in connection with my suggestions to end unemployment, which were submitted to the Post-War Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council and are also included in this book. In this way a subject for general education consisting duties and rights of citizenship will be produced, which can be learnt by the pupils by any method or scheme, as a private enterprise according to environments and circumstances. The state help is required only where the individuals are seem helpless and unable to fulfil their obligations themselves. This is only an exception, and cannot be made a general rule to prevail bondage and slavery in another form.

CHAPTER II.

THE UNDERLYING IDEAS AND BASIC PRINCIPLES.

The feeling of dissatisfaction prevailing in the country, due to failure of the present system of education to meet the most urgent and pressing needs of national life, had been the underlying ideas for adumbrating the scheme by Mahatma Gandhi on the basic principle of teaching through a craft, so as

to bring the system of education into line with nationalism.

1. He said in Harijan of 18th September 1937.

"The present education is a snare and delusion."

Then he spoke in his inaugural address to the Educational Conference held at Wardha :—

"I am convinced that the present system of education is not only harmful but positively wasteful. Most of the boys are lost to their parents and to the occupation to which they were born. They pick up evil habits, affect urban ways and get a smattering of something which may be anything but education."

So far the ideas, based on actual demands and needs of the country are the excellent hypotheses. A proper solution of which will lead to the achievement of the thing desired in a short time. But anything, good or bad, will certainly become a snare and delusion in a due course of time, if it does not spring out of necessity in man's life himself to fulfil its own needs and obligations. Because when a thing of common and individual need, is made into a scheme or plan, after a certain method by the leaders of morality or legislation, and it is enforced by the government with authority and administration of the law, then it becomes such a narrow and limited one that the very purpose of the thing is annihilated in the cost of administration and in technicalities of the law. It means that unless the purpose of the thing lies in man himself, of his own accord without any body's dictation, it will always show the same adverse results, the independence of man being lost therein.

In the present system of education, as the purpose was (only to some extent) based on independent demands of individuals, but chiefly (to the greatest extent) it was to fulfil the need of the Government and the law to be established in the country. Moreover it was never enforced by the authority of the law (although it was under the management of administration), but quite optional for any man to get it or not. Hence the purpose of the Government having been fulfilled, a narrow margin having been left, in the field of employment and occupation, thereby needs and obligations of individuals or their purpose having been affected adversely, has resulted in confusion and insecurity, seeming to be a snare and delusion. But it has never resulted in loss of independence. There is nothing wrong in the system or method of education being imparted in the country at present, as it has wrongly been supposed to be. Whereas the system adumbrated in the scheme is lacking in purpose on both sides and is merely based on fancy, imagination and assumption. Moreover its tragedy is to be enforced by law and its administration leading to complete loss of independence of individuals. Hence it will prove the same, rather the worst producing more confusion and unrest for want of individual independence.

No doubt the education imparted at present in the country is wasteful rather positively harmful. It is not due to there being any defect in the system, but merely for want of any desired subject for education or in other words for want of proper analysis of

economic and social organisation in the country enabling every one to be self-supporting with his independent actions based on co-operation to be the subject for education. The defect lies only in the organisation where social security based on equality, liberty and fraternity, and also self determination for individuals is neither arranged nor secured. It is wrongly supposed to be in education and its system. When a thing to be known is not definite and certain, what will the method or system of education do? Why "are the most of the boys lost to their parents and also to the occupation to which they were born, picking up evil habits and affecting urban ways etc"? Because they have been given to understand from their very childhood in the present system as well as in the system adumbrated, that they have no individual purpose in their lives. They are born for the society and the occupation to which they were born has little or no bearing upon them neither it is necessary for them to stick to it. Hence they cannot do otherwise than to be lost to their parents and the occupations to which they were born. After that there is no other alternative for them than to pick up evil habits etc. Because they have been pulled rather dragged from their respective places without some other alternate allotment?

Unless the purpose of and the incentive for education is produced in man himself, so that every one may be compelled, of his own accord, to get education to be arranged without administration of the law or legislation on the one hand, and law and

morality (the Government) remain in the limit of controlling only the various and several factors (for sake of co-operation) to be found in proper analysis of economic and social organisation on the other hand, it will always lead to loss of individual independence and self-determination producing the same adverse results in a very short time. However it may be tried by whatever method or system. Equality, liberty and fraternity can never be arranged in society of mankind as desired.

2, Mahatma Gandhi defined education in Harijan of 31st July, 1937 :—

"By education I mean an alround drawing out of the best in child and man, body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education."

The meaning and purpose of education defined by Mahatmaji is such a narrow and limited one that it leads a man no where. Should a thing be defined correctly, it will certainly lead to the realisation of its aim and purpose without confusion and irrespective of its method and system. Because when a man knows it definitely from the very beginning what is required actually and he is also in need of it for his own life and its maintenance, and also the sources of knowledge are alive. He will automatically find the correct method to achieve it. Otherwise however good the method or system is, in absence of the above condition it will always prove fruitless.

his living as a citizen and this earning will be for his own comforts and happiness as well as for prosperity of others. But all this will be difficult rather impossible to achieve merely through education and its system, unless the society itself is adjusted likewise beforehand, making every one's way clear to realise his ambitions and desires for maintaining his self-determination and thereby contributing his reactions for benefit of the society. Otherwise what the poor child will know by education and how will he be able to adjust himself in society for co-operation in absence of this arrangement already existing therein. This is the real and root cause of all the troubles felt. It is never due to there being any defect in the system or method of education.

Mahatmaji has contemplated that literacy is not an education in itself but only one of the means to get education. But it should be borne in mind that we cannot dispense with means unless we have gained the end, and primarily we will have to acquire means only to reach the desired goal. So in order to prepare a boy or a girl for education or to find out what is the best in him or her to be drawn out to serve the purpose of true education as explained already, it is necessary rather paramount and imperative that there should be a course of primary or elementary education as it is at present. It should be compulsory, compulsion not to be administered by authority of the law, but for one's career to be started. It should be free, not free of cost, but acquired with all the freedom, independence, privately and voluntarily without any

influence except the parents and the teachers. It may be had at the primary schools already existing or by any private arrangement (I shall explain later on, how ?) available according to environments and circumstances of the child. In this course of time the child has to learn literacy combined with elementary knowledge of co-operative social structure and other elementary knowledge as it is learnt in the present day primary schools. The work of the State and its administration is, not to interfere in private enterprises about method and system of primary education, but to examine every boy and girl at a certain age, irrespective of the fact how and under what environments or circumstances the boy or the girl has been educated. So as to issue him or her a certificate as to what he or she is best adapted for and where will he or she best succeed in life? (Certificate will only lay down the possibilities otherwise every boy or girl is free to choose whatever line he or she likes to be best for his or her respective career). So that the secondary education may be imparted accordingly, not through basic handi-craft only as adumbrated by Mahatamaji in a very narrow and limited vision, but through a vocation or occupation the aptitude for which has been found in boy or girl as a result of examination in final primary course as explained above. This kind of secondary education imparted through a vocation will enable boy or girl to start his or her career independently, to fulfil their own obligations and to strengthen the society by his or her reactions at the same time becoming self-supporting without intervention of the administration of the law.

3 In his inaugural address to the Wardha Conference

Mahatmaji said, "The child will also be made to feel that he does not belong to his parents alone, but also to the village and to the country, and that he will have to make some return to them."

Here again the description and statement is so narrow that one is unable to understand any thing from it. It is not befitting a leader of the country to give such ludicrous statements, which lead to confusion even a matured man what to speak of a child. One will naturally ask, to what extent and in what way does the child belong to both? Whether the child does ever belong to himself too or is he born to fulfil the need of his parents, village or country alone? So that the poor fellow may be able to realise his position to make them some return in proper way. Otherwise he will be puzzled without there being his own purpose—if any—in life for making such returns.

4. Again in the inaugural address Mahatmaji spoke:—"If we want to eliminate communal strife, and international strife, we must start with foundations pure and strong by rearing our younger generation on the education I have adumbrated. That plan springs out of non-violence.

We have to make them true representatives of our culture, of our civilisation, of the true genius of our nation. We cannot do so otherwise than by giving them a course of self-supporting education."

Here again Mahatmaji has made a great mistake in understanding the cause of communal and international strife to have been the defect in

education and its system. There is a real cause for everything in this Universe. Unless the cause is removed, no amount of education, preaching, even punishments or other superficial methods, will be able to eliminate such things. Rather they will be increased to the extent of the efforts will be made for their elimination.

Because the real cause of all such strifes is the sense and conditions of insecurity to maintain self-determination, whether of a community, religion or nation. The equilibrium of action and re-action has been disturbed in the world (consciously or unconsciously) and the violence has been produced in every action. The more the endeavours will be made to enlighten the minds of the public by way of education, sentimental appeals, preaching or the like, the more they will become conscious of their insecure positions to maintain self-determination, and the more there will be such strifes. Rather hatred in mankind will reach to an intolerable stage ultimately resulting in destruction of human society. I know the real cause (to be in the very root) of all such strifes and the conditions of constant warfare in the world. I know their definite remedy too which will be based on pure non-violence.

I will show, if ever I have been given a chance, that how the balance of equilibrium of action and re-action (one supporting the other) in the world can be made harmonious? This being the root cause of violence, how can it be eradicated otherwise? Then everything will be adjusted in its proper place

giving every one individually severally, nationally and internationally an equal opportunity to maintain the self-determination in whatever way one likes without being a cause of strife at any time. I know what anybody, not only in India, but all over the world wants, and I am definite that ways for realization of all the diverse and different demands can be made clear and completely secured without violence being produced in the world. Otherwise non-violence is only a symbol consisting of its spelling or synonymous terms in different languages having no significance whatsoever, and its preaching is merely to make aggrandisement.

I shall start this work from India, having arranged at first the security of trade interests of the British nation in this country (the real cause for their holding political control in the country) to their entire satisfaction. So that they may not feel any difficulty in handing over the political control in local hands, as the attempts are being made by sentimental propaganda in the masses without deciding anything in particular. Then I shall arrange in the system complete security of self-determination for Islamic world as desired by them. So that they may be able to convert whole India, and if possible the whole world, into Pakistan (their ultimate goal) after the teaching and culture of Islam, if they can do so by force of truth in their religion giving peace and happiness to mankind. Why any man's ambitions and desires may remain undeveloped and unfulfilled by

obstacles thrown in the way by others? He may not accomplish his task due to his own faults or imperfections, but no one's way for progress and development should remain blocked in any way, non-violence requires this and it can be arranged accordingly.

Then the problem of the princes and rulers of all the Indian States is to be solved for adjustment in fitness of the things to the entire satisfaction of this group. They belong to India also and require freedom and satisfaction in their own way which cannot be refused. Then there is a question of scheduled and backward classes or the so called untouchables, and I am going to settle this question once for all to end disturbance. I have not come forward to make any confusion, but to arrange satisfaction for all. I respect individual human beings and am of opinion that every one's desires, ambitions, aspirations and ideas should find out let for developments to whatever extent any one may desire and society may be getting benefit and strength by all such demands, and this can be arranged. Freedom of country does not mean to replace one rule by another foreign or local, or to replace one kind of slavery by another. The poverty, unemployment and other harshest anxieties of the masses can never be ended unless it is arranged as I have described above. Let any one else in the country try if my services are not considered desirable. Although I have never come in contact with any body in the world still I can represent the whole human race in the world as to satisfy their indifferent demands.

I fail to understand, that when we ourselves do not hold our culture and our civilisation, neither we are in ourselves true, genius of one nation under the conditions prevailing in the country. How will we be able to make our boys or girls to be our true representatives, merely by giving them a course of so called self-supporting primary education adumbrated by Mahatmaji according to fancy and imagination of his narrow and limited brain. Does this statement carry any meaning or sense except a combination of words and letters in a beautiful way ?

Let this narrow and limited idea of self-supporting education through basic craft be developed to adjust it in affairs of human society on a comprehensive scale, in order to make it general base for education to end all the troubles in the world, Education through a basic craft—vocation, occupation or in a wider sense through actions. Now action is possible to be performed in matter only, by the various faculties of mind with the instrumentality of organs of action in physical body. The purpose of action is chiefly to fulfil the need of instinct (one of the faculties of mind) and can be performed with the use and help of energy only. Maintenance of body to be the purpose of action is a secondary one. In this case the performance of action is meant for development of the body for satisfaction of mind to realise spirit (reflection of God and source of heat, light and energy). Its accomplishment will be impossible unless the physical body is attached with matter or material resources in nature where only the

possibility of action exists. Unless all men get equal opportunities of their direct approach with matter for independent action, they cannot be satisfied, neither the purpose of education or alround harmonious development of men or children, can be fulfilled as I have described in the definition of education. Hence idea of Mahatmaji is quite correct, and so is the case with any idea ever produced in human mind. This is the real cause of demand for individual freedom in the world. Due to ignorance of mankind, it is never understood properly. Hence all are groping in darkness and are not finding the way to satisfy their own aspirations, causing more confusion and unrest by their tentative and ludicrous statements.

Then action by its own law is always self-supporting in itself by its re-action. If reaction is allowed to mix with its action, either it will destroy the action itself and its purpose or in a morbid state it will be harmful to many others, producing confusion, as it is being done in the world at present. In order to avoid this difficulty the reaction of every individual is to be consumed by society where it will be beneficial to many on the one hand and will support its action on the other on hand. This is called co-operative and self-supporting society. Now if every man is allowed his direct approach to material resources in nature with any one of the different factors of energy, in order to convert his approach into corresponding vocation, occupation, profession, craft or art etc to make the base of his actions for sake of education, development and living, there will be all the other factors

of energy in society to hold his reactions for corresponding benefits and for supporting his own actions.

In this way the society will be self-supporting so long as the law or the Government are able to control this analysis that no one may arrange his approach (to natural resources) for action with more than one factors of energy to destroy the purpose of co-operation or infringe the law called action and reaction. However a man do any kind of selfish actions based on his individual ambitions, desires or temptations, they will always benefit the society for economic needs. However he may try to be isolated and self-sufficient with all the independence and freedom of action, he will never be able to detach himself from society, rather he will be coming closer and closer till there will be complete co-operation and harmony, with understanding and feelings of fraternity. The purpose of liberty, equality and fraternity will be achieved without sentimental preaching and propaganda, under the control of political power in democracy.

In the course of primary education as I have explained it will be known with what factor of energy a boy or girl is best able to have his or her approach for action, to be the base for his or her education. Then in the secondary education he or she can be taught that particular vocation having converted the approach into a radical course of action for further development. This system will be a self-supporting, not only in education but in after

life too. Every one's reactions falling on many other in society for further development and mutual support. I shall explain this in every detail and on comprehensive scale, later on, when desired by the public.

After this there is Agenda upon which some resolutions were framed in the Educational Conference held at Wardha in 1937, but I close this Chapter leaving them for discussion on some other occasion.

CHAPTER III

FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES OF THE SCHEME.

1. **Craft Centre Process of Education.** As I have already explained in the last chapter that the scheme is good as one of the methods to impart education not comprehensive to be enforced by the authority of law and legislation to the teeming millions, in order to destroy even their sense of independence and freedom; unless the arrangement is made according to the ideas (in their developed state) mentioned in the last chapter.

In *Harijan* of the 7th July, 1937, Mahatmaji said "Every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically, but scientifically *i.e.* the child should know the why and wherefore of every process."

Having been educated through the basic and central idea of non-violence all his life, Mahatmaji

himself is still unable to know why and wherefore of its operation in practical life. Is it not surprising that he expects a child of seven to fourteen to know the why and wherefore of every process? So that neither the poor fellow may be able to know it nor he may learn the craft mechanically. After leaving the school unless the State guarantees employment, he may not be able to do anything. How can State guarantee employments to teeming millions of villagers? I wish to know the theory or system under which this can be arranged. ? What are the aspirations of Mahatmaji about independence and freedom, I cannot understand?

Harijan 11th September, 1937.

"The core of my suggestion is that handicrafts are to be taught, not merely for production work, but for developing the intellect of the pupil. "

Man is always getting education and continuous developing his faculties and intellect all his life, from his birth rather from the time of his conception till his death. It is not necessary, that everything is to be developed within seven years. If boy or girl can be made to grasp this sense only of development making himself fit for productive work (having converted his approach to natural resources into a radical course of action as explained in the last chapter), it will be more than sufficient in seven years.

2. Self-supporting Education : The sense of self-supporting education as self-supporting society by so many conditions upon other factors, as it has been explained by Mahatmaji, can never be called self-supporting, but slavery of mankind with complete

loss of independence. The action in this world are naturally self-supporting if performed independently (without any intereference) and with sense of co-operation, as I have explained in the last two chapters.

3. Seven years free and compulsory education : Meaning of free and compulsory education in terms of independence I have described already and needs no repetition. This free and compulsory education as adumbrated by Mahatmaji means loss of independence of individuals and nothing else.

4. Indian Languages:

The question of language to be the medium of education depends on the system of Government in the country where the boy is to live after the completion of education. Unless the language of Government machinrey and its administration is changed, this question cannot be raised. (Kalam-ul-Malik - Malik-ul-Kalam) is a prominent proverb in Persian laguange.

5. The cult of non-violence.

This aspect I have already explained in detail what does Mahatmaji mean by non-violence in education, I am unable to make any sense out of it ?

CHAPTER IV

SECONDARY FEATURES OF THE SCHEME.

1. Matriculation Standard.
2. Different steps in Education.

3. State to buy products of children's labour
4. Relationship with life.
5. Ideal of citizenship.

I am nothing to say as yet about standard of Education or its different steps. Because time, space and circumstances do not permit me to go into so many details. However about the state to buy products of children's labour, I must mention that there are about 7,00, 000 villages in India where this scheme is desired to be introduced. If the products of children's labour cannot be consumed, wherever they are produced to make the scheme self-supporting, how can the state manage to do it? Unnecessary cost of management and administration will be laid on the product of children's labour without any good results coming out of it, What is the conception and idea of State in terms of freedom and co-operation? Will Mahatmaji take the trouble to explain?

Moreover when anything can be made self-supporting why should it not be left free to be achieved by private enterprises? What is the fun of wasting the cost and energy in work of management and administration? Otherwise what is the meaning of freedom of a country, if even the self-supporting thing cannot be left in the hands of individuals? After all if he has no faith in freedom of man, if he does not believe that man can be free and independent to fulfil his own obligations free, then why is Mahatma Gandhi sacrificing his own life and leading the masses on the path of destruction for the sake of so-called freedom? If he believes in freedom then why does he not believe that every man is capable of fulfilling his

own obligation provided his right of freedom (right of direct approach to natural resources) is not exploited by any other man, society or the Government ? Why does he consider man or this world to be poor and helpless requiring anybody's help for holding and adjusting freedom ? He would have produced independent work and employment for the whole population with his idea of education through action based on non-violence, had he acted as a leader and the country would have been free upto this time without any struggle, confusion and communal hatred.

As for relationship with life and ideas of citizenship I have already described that the world in general is as yet, too far from realising this in its true sense for adjustment of affairs in human society, for sake of peace, harmony and happiness, otherwise there would never have been so much mis-understanding and confusion in the world. What will the poor child know from his elementary education as adumbrated ?

CHAPTER V.

PROBLEM OF TEACHERS.

In solving the problem of teachers a number of difficulties have been felt, which could never have been a hinderance, had the scheme been taken in a broad and universal scale by some leader believing in freedom of man with sufficient knowledge of adjusting the affairs in terms of liberty, equality and fraternity

enabling every one individually to maintain his self-determination. But as the Government are blamed to have made monopoly of economic resources with the authority and administration of law, similarly the leaders have made monopoly of leadership or morality for exploiting rights of common man in every possible way. The cost of running the law as well as morality or leadership is thrust on the public, who are already so poor and in a deplorable state that instead of getting benefit either from the law or morality they are being crushed by both, finding no way for their salvation. The very meaning of the word democracy is quite clear that Government for the people and by the people. But in practice it is taken to be quite otherwise i.e. people for the Government which is to be run by certain people. Freedom is required by the whole population individually and severally, law and morality are required to control and support the required freedom. Now if law or morality (Government or leadership) will try to monopolise the resources (the very object of freedom), then there will be exploitation of public rights by both the law and the morality. The people will be for the Government. Where will be freedom and democracy and how will the troubles be ended?

Unless the activities in all the departments of law and morality or administration and legislation spring out of individual activities to be connected in link through stages for control (where the activities are liable to infringe the purpose of freedom or law of action and re-action) and for support (where necessary). the troubles and difficulties can never be ended. Neither

a strong democracy can be established allowing every one to maintain his self-determination with complete social security. Exploitation of public rights being in both ways, by the Government as well as by the leaders hence there will always be slavery in the country in some form or other even in its worst forms. I am writing these pages while the book is in the press under print, and I am in a haste to get it published for placing it before the British Cabinet Mission for consideration, before the interviews begin with the leaders. Hence I am unable to give a full and comprehensive analysis of the scheme as I intended to, which will be given later on if required.

I shall finish it by quoting an explanation of a very old Punjabi proverb rather a dictum to show the present state of affairs in the country. The purport of the proverb is that if the task of collecting revenue is entrusted to the peasantry, if a leader resorts to banking business or any business transaction for sake of interest, gain or profit, and if political control is given in hands of traders or trade-minded men, all these will let loose hell in the world. This is what is happening every where in the world infringing the law concerning action and reaction and producing violence thereby.

I require neither censure nor praise, I have told the right thing deliberately and with quite frankness. Because there is neither partiality nor any passionate feeling in my character I am a straight forward

man always believing in justice, righteousness and frankness.

निन्दन्तु नीति निपुणाः यदि वास्तुवन्तु

लक्ष्मी तिष्ठतु गच्छतु वा यथेष्टम् ।

अथैव मरणस्तु युगान्तरे वा

न्यायपथाद् प्रविचलन्ति पदं न धीराः ॥

Let the statesmen censure me or praise me. I do not care. Let the wealth and prosperity come or go, I do not care. I may die today or I may live for another age. It is an immaterial thing to me. But I cannot be led away from the path of God, truth, non-violence, justice and righteousness and frankness.

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Research Scholar (Sociology)

Lahore

Dated 27-3-46.

ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Wrong word</i>	<i>Correct word</i>
xi —	10—	A. Auchinluck	— Sir C. Auchinleck
19 —	3 —	the emplovment	— unemployment
27 —	12—	but	— put
28 —	14—	alternation	— alteration
35 —	12—	is	— it
44 —	21—	made	— delete it
47 —	9 —	make	— makes
47 —	16—	comiforts	— comforts
49 —	20—	de	— be. .
72 —	29—	correect	— correct
83 —	3 —	or	— of
97 —	4 —	affects	— effects
104—	6 —	man	— men.
108—	12—	Shou	— should
113—	18—	and	— end
139—	5 —	boarding	— hoarding
144—	3 —	ta	— to
148—	23—	employment	— enjoyment
155—	25—	skid	— skill
158—	18—	cuit	— cult
166—	24—	late Prime minister	— Ex-Prime Minister
169—	15—	seem	— seen
186—	17—	continous	— continues
—	—	aggrendisement	— aggrandisement